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Vol. 2 No. 2 ETHNOHISTORY Spring, 1955

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING[1]

Part 1

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For several decades two so-called "Snake"[2] groups, the Yahuskin and Walpapi, have been accepted by ethnographers as two Northern Paiute-speaking bands which existed in aboriginal times and were located in definable areas within what is now central Oregon.[3] This acceptance and localization of the Yahuskin and Walpapi[4] has rested on the fact that two treaties were made by the United States in 1864 and 1865,[5] respectively, with the "Ya-hooe-kin Band of Snake Indians" and the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians", and that both "Yahooskins" and "Wollpahpees" are mentioned in Bureau of Indian Affairs reports and correspondence for several years after the treaties had been negotiated. Analysis of heretofore unused documentary material shows, however, that neither one of these two so-called bands of Snake Indians had any aboriginal validity as definitely localized, organized groups. The treaty-signing Yahuskin of 1864 consisted of a score or so of Great Basin Northern Paiute, deriving at that specific date from the Surprise Valley-Warner Valley region in northeastern California and south-central Oregon. They

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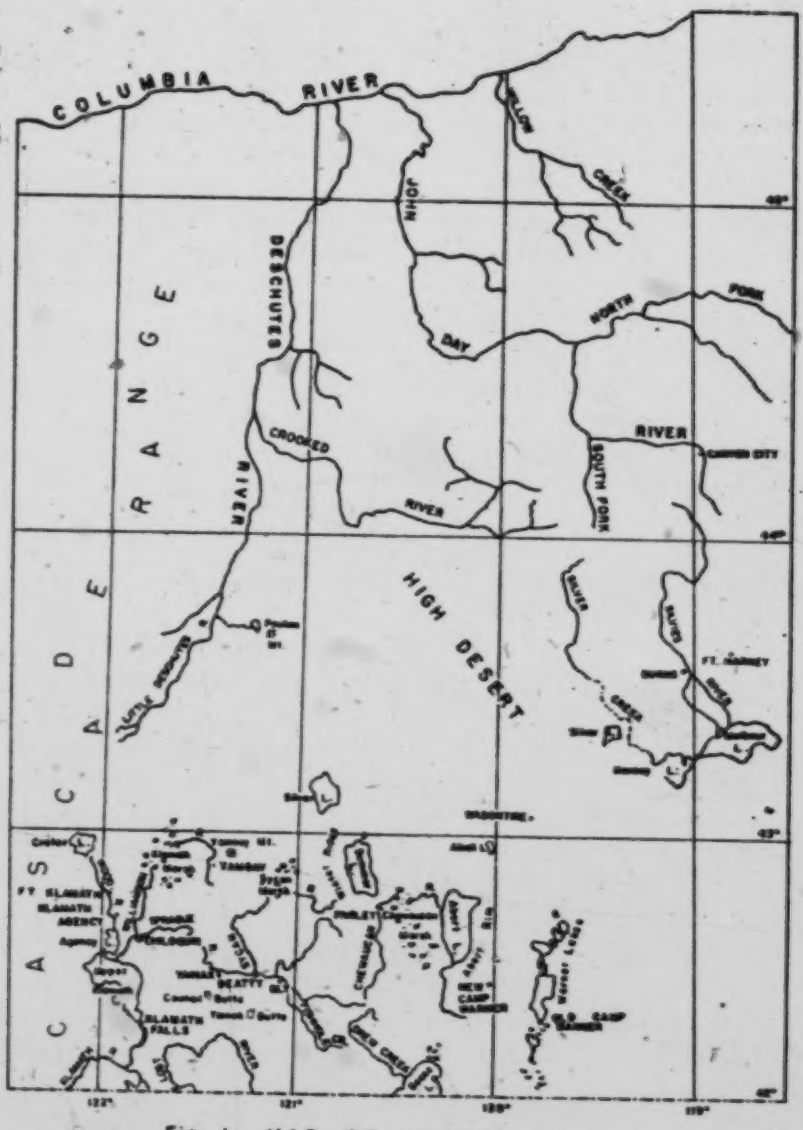

Fig. 1. MAP OF CENTRAL OREGON.

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did not derive, at the time they signed the treaty, from the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region of central Oregon, although this latter region is the one they presumably ceded, and the one customarily assigned to them by ethnographers. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Yahuskin of Klamath Agency records were not Great Basin Paiute, but a small Klamath-speaking group which has been virtually unnoticed up to now, but which, in pre- and post-treaty times, occupied a strategic borderline position in upper Sprague River Valley between the Klamath Marsh-Upper Klamath Lake Klamath Indians to the west and the Great Basin Northern Paiute-speaking peoples to the east.[6] The treaty-signing Walpapi of 1865 were a mounted, predatory, fluctuating group of Great Basin Northern Paiute and other Indians who ranged throughout central Oregon from ca. 1859 to 1867 under Panaña (vars., Paulina, Pahnine, Polini, etc.),[7] an extremely able Northern Paiute post-White war leader. The Walpapi were not localized in a large, heart-shaped area extending from Burns, Ore., to some forty miles north of Canyon City, Ore., although this is the area they ceded. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Walpapi of Klamath Agency records consisted of something over a hundred Northern Paiute Indians who, in 1867 and 1868 moved or were removed from the Silver-Summer lakes region at the western edge of the Great Basin to upper Sprague River Valley on the Klamath Reservation; their removal to the Reservation occurred some three years after the Walpapi treaty of 1865 had been negotiated.

The confusion worse confounded that has existed from 1864 on in Bureau of Indian Affairs documents and the ethnographic literature, regarding the identity and provenience of the Yahuskin and Walpapi Indians stems from four main causes: abysmal ignorance concerning the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples of central and eastern Oregon on the part of Indian Bureau officials in the 1860's when treaties were being negotiated with them;[8] manipulation of Klamath Agency funds and groups to meet very real exigencies in the troubled 1860's and 1870's;[9] misinterpretation or neglect by ethnographers of relevant documentary material relating to the Klamath and westernmost Northern Paiute;[10] and the willingness of ethnographers to accept treaty-designated groups as valid aboriginal groups. These four main causes become obvious as we ex-

101 114 648 amine in detail the history of the so-called "Yahooskin" and "Wollpahpe Snakes", or better, the history of the western Great Basin, Northern Paiute-speaking population of central Oregon.

2. The "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians"

648 2. 1. The Treaty Yahooskins. First specific mention of the Yahuskin, as far as we have been able to determine, is as signatories to a treaty of cession held at Council Grove near Ft. Klamath, Ore., in October, 1864.[11] Two "chiefs", Kile-to-ak and Sky-to-ock-et, of the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians", together with 21 Klamath and four Modoc "chiefs and headmen" signed this treaty, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Commissioners J. W. Perit Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and William Logan, Indian Agent at Warm Springs Reservation, Ore.[12]

131 648 The area ceded extended eastward from the summit of the Cascades to Harney Lake, and from the 44th parallel southward some distance below the 42nd parallel (present Oregon-California boundary line).[12a] The Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region, or the eastern half of the total area ceded, is the portion which the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" presumably relinquished, but since the treaty was a joint one, the areas signed away by each of the three "tribes" or "bands" represented are not explicitly allocated.[13]

648 In a contemporary document, a letter written the day the treaty was signed, Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, does not mention the Yahuskin, but merely says, "The treaty with the Klamath, Modoc, and a Small Band of Snake Indians, mentioned in my letter of yesterday, has been signed today....There were present of the Snakes....."[14]

Very little is known about the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty, or about the events that led up to it. We do know that in August or September, 1864, Huntington visited Ft. Klamath, "held a conference with chiefs and such of the headmen as could be collected on short notice," and made arrangements for the treaty council in October. No "Snakes" attended this preliminary conference.[15] Since no minutes have been preserved, either of the preliminary conference or the actual treaty council, we do not know certainly who served as interpreters at the confer-

ence or at the treaty negotiations,[16] how many Indians gathered for the treaty-signing,[17] how the twenty-two Snakes present at the signing were persuaded to attend,[18] how long treaty negotiations lasted,[19] who spoke during these proceedings,[20] or the exact day the treaty was signed.[21] Available data being so scanty about the treaty proceedings as a whole, Philleo Nash concluded in 1937 that "It is impossible to learn from the treaty whom the commissioners dealt with as 'Yahooskin Snakes'"[22] in the treaty negotiations. Nash bases this statement on his examination of Klamath Agency correspondence; examination of other fugitive material which Nash did not consult makes the impossible now possible, as follows.

On July 17, 1864, almost three months before the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty was signed, Lt. Col. Charles S. Drew of Ft. Klamath encamped with a military expedition of sixty-two men near the head of Goose Lake, at the western base of the "Sierra Nevada Mountains" [Warner Range]. Two Indian scouts attached to Drew's expedition went from this camp "up into the Sierras [Warner Range] to hunt;" these scouts brought back twenty White prospectors they met in the mountains, as well as "three of the principal Snake Indians of that region" (underlining ours) whom, Drew says, "they were anxious we should see. These Indians came into camp on foot and unarmed, having left their horses and their arms, if they had any, some distance back in charge probably of some of their comrades."

Both Indians and prospectors stayed at Drew's camp overnight. The next morning the Indians and four of the White visitors departed, the Whites leaving on the pretext of going hunting, but actually to steal the Indians' horses, which they had seen the day before. A fight over the horses ensued and one prospector was killed.

As soon as he was told what had happened, Drew sent soldiers out to bring the White men and the Indians back to his camp. Drew was apprehensive that the incident would provoke an Indian attack on the expedition, but his fears proved unfounded. "The Indians seem to have comprehended," he writes, "that the troops were in no way responsible for the outrage that had been perpetrated, and they made no hostile demonstrations toward us. Subsequently these Indians were represented

648 in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and expressed a willingness to go upon the Klamath Reservation, when the treaty should be ratified"[23] (underlining ours).

So much for the material in Drew's Official Report. A letter from Drew, written in his camp at Goose Lake on July 18, 1864 to the Assistant Adjutant General, U. S. A., San Francisco, Calif., gives additional details about this incident and the Indians. The letter reads in part as follows:

> Yesterday the petty chief and two others of the band of Indians of this vicinity came into camp by my direction.... This morning, after gaining what information I could respecting their numbers, etc., I dismissed them and sent them from camp in company with the two Indian messengers who had brought them. Soon after their departure the messengers returned and stated that the other three [the Indian visitors] had been ambushed and fired upon by four of the party of citizens who came yesterday, and they thought all were killed. I immediately dispatched a detachment of ten men in pursuit....The object of the attack upon these Indians was to get possession of two horses, but the unarmed Indians being joined just then by armed comrades, the result is as stated. Both of the horses have been brought in....They are inferior animals and poorly repay the cost of getting them. No Indian depredations are reported to have been committed in this vicinity, though the principal traveled route from Red Bluff and Fort Crook to John Day's River and vicinity passes directly through the country which these Indians occupy..."[24] (all underlining ours).

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101 131 That the three Snake Indians brought to Drew's camp were, in 1864, definitely associated with the region in which they were encountered, and that they and their comrades did not constitute one of the roving, predatory Snake groups of the 1860's which were operating under notorious war leaders and plundering pack trains, emigrant parties, and ranchers, seems evident from Drew's letter. A few days before he encamped on Goose Lake, Drew had searched Sprague River Valley for just such marauders.[25]

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It also seems clear that the Indians Drew met did not customarily live in Goose Lake Valley, which extends for some 10-15 miles north of

the head of Goose Lake, between this lake and Silver, Summer and Abert lakes. Drew describes upper Goose Lake Valley, which forms part of the Goose Lake Basin, and says of its inhabitants: "Among the Snakes, Modoc, upper Pitt River, Klamath and Piute Indians, Goose Lake Valley, of that portion of it which lies to the northward of the Lakes, is neutral ground; neither tribe claiming it especially, but each using it at will for hunting and fishing, and gathering the wild rye for winter food."[26] Elsewhere he says, "As has already been stated in this report, the upper portion of Goose Lake Valley is neutral ground as between the Snake, Piute, Upper Pitt River, Modoc and Klamath Indians; but the country infested by each of these tribes respectively, borders directly upon it, and taken as a whole, form [sic] its entire boundary."[27] The journalist Stephen Powers confirms Drew; writing in the 1870's Powers also expressly notes that the "great plains" north of Goose Lake were not inhabited by Indians.[28]

That the Snakes Drew met, and the Snakes at the Klamath treaty-signing of October, 1864, belonged to one and the same group also seems evident. Furthermore, there was only one Klamath treaty council which was attended by Snakes between July 17, 1864 (when Drew met the three Snake Indians at Goose Lake) and January 12, 1865 (the date of Drew's Official Report). This was the treaty council held in October, 1864, near Ft. Klamath. The so-called Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians were the only Snakes present at the 1864 Klamath treaty council; both Huntington and Capt. Kelly agree on this point.[30] Therefore the Snakes whom Drew had in camp July 17-18, 1864, who were "subsequently....represented in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington"[31] in October of the same year, must have been part of that "Small Band of Snake Indians" mentioned by Capt. Kelly as present at the treaty-signing,[32] whom Huntington designates as "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians."[33]

Where Huntington got the name "Yahooskin" for the twenty-two Northern Paiute who attended the treaty council will probably never be certainly known. Seemingly it was merely a treaty name, first recorded by Huntington in the October 14, 1864 treaty; it reappears thereafter only in Indian Affairs records, not in Army records. As already noted, it is not used by Capt. Kelly in his letter enumerating the number of Indians pre-

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101 sent for treaty negotiations, which was written the day the treaty was signed. A suggested etymology for Yahuskin in the Klamath language is as follows: ya (prefix) down, down below;[36] hu (morpheme) far off, in the distance, either visibly or so far as to be invisible;[38] -kni (suffix) those of, people of,[38] Anglicised as -kin instead of Klamath -kni.[37] According to this etymology, Yahuskin would mean people of far off down below, an apt name from the Klamath viewpoint.[38] Albert S. Gatschet is silent, however, on the name being of Klamath origin, and from what Leslie Spier[39] reports, it seems certain that Yahuskin is not an old Klamath name for a particular Northern Paiute group. It may be that it was a descriptive name made up for Huntington by a Klamath speaker at the treaty.

648 Why a "Small Band of Snake Indians" was willing to attend the October, 1864 treaty council becomes understandable in the light of the Drew material. Drew had befriended the three Snakes whom the White prospectors had attacked,[40] and had also had the Indians' horses, "inferior animals" though they were, returned to them. Fair treatment of this sort[41] plus their probably being told by their Klamath neighbors that food and goods would be distributed at the treaty negotiations,[42] in all likelihood induced the eleven Snake men, five women and six children, to go to Ft. Klamath, Lt. Col. Drew's headquarters, for the treaty proceedings.

114 The pre-treaty identification of those "Snakes" who signed the Kla-
101 math treaty of October 14, 1864 being thus determined, their customary
131 range in 1864 can be established in the light of what we know about some of the westernmost Northern Paiute peoples in the 1860's from ethnographic accounts by Isabel Kelly, Omer C. Stewart, and Beatrice Blyth Whiting.[43]

101 It will be recalled that in 1864 Drew's scouts found the three Snake
131 Indians and their companions either up in the Warner Range or between the western slope of the Warners and Drew's camp on the northeastern shore of Goose Lake near its head. It will also be recalled that Drew nowhere indicates that these Indians were associated with the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region north of the then uninhabited upper Goose Lake Valley.[44]

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According to Kelly, those Northern Paiute or Snakes who customarily used the western slopes of the Warners for summer and fall hunting in the 1860's were the ancestors of the Northern Paiute now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute or Gidu'tikadu (vars., Kidutokado, Gididika) Ground Hog Eaters, Woodchuck Eaters.[45] Kelly, who has published the basic ethnography on the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley, Calif., obtained her field data from several Paiute informants born in Surprise Valley ca. 1860-1870;[46] the information they gave Kelly relates largely to that region and period. Kelly's informants stated that their people were accustomed to winter at favored spots east of the Warner Range in Warner Valley and Surprise Valley, and that in summer and fall they hunted as far west as the eastern shore of Goose Lake, from Buck Creek or Fandango Creek northward to the head of the lake. This region west of the Warners was regarded as a hunting province; informants told Kelly explicitly that, "We didn't own it, we just hunted there."[47] The statements of a Surprise Valley Paiute at the Reno hearings in 1951 confirm this data of Kelly's on the use, by Surprise Valley Paiute hunting parties, of the country west of the Warners.[48]

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Therefore it would seem that the three Snakes interviewed by Drew, who were hunting in the summer of 1864 in the Warners in country which Drew says they "occupied," if identifiable with any particular locale are identifiable with the Surprise – Warner valleys area. This is a well watered region which we know was frequented by Northern Paiute from at least the 1820's onward.[49]

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The fact that at the Klamath treaty-signing in 1864 a few Northern Paiute from the Surprise Valley region were willing to cede the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes area of some 5,000 square miles, thirty to forty miles northwest of their customary range, is a striking illustration of the lack of any definite concept of land ownership which, as an experienced Army officer of that period observed,[50] prevailed among these people. Accustomed as the Northern Paiute were to wander at will over large arid tracts in their quest for food, there is every probability that some or all of the "Snakes" present at the treaty-signing knew the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region; it would be surprising if they did not. But that they in any sense "owned" this region or were so closely associated

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with it as to be able to sign it away at a treaty, would appear improbable in the light of Drew's and Kelly's data. The treaty Yahuskin thus dissolve as representing a Northern Paiute aboriginal group or "band" living in the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region.

We turn now to the post-treaty, Reservation Yahuskin of Klamath Agency records.

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2. 2. The Reservation Yahooskin. Acceptance of the Yahuskin by ethnographers as representing an aboriginal group has been bolstered by the fact that "Yahooskins" are referred to, and population figures given for them, in Klamath Reservation reports throughout the first decade the Reservation was in existence (1855-1875).[51] It has generally been assumed that these Yahooskins of Agency record were identical with the pre-Reservation Yahooskin who signed the 1864 treaty, by all ethnographers concerned with them except Nash. The latter, in an undocumented statement, remarks that soon after the treaty was signed, the people designated as Yahooskin on the Klamath Reservation were those "Klamath who had their permanent settlements in Sprague River Valley and had intermarried to some extent with the Modoc. Their habitat had been, and still is, the Eastern end of Klamath Reservation, known locally as the 'Upper End'."[52]

Little notice has been taken of this remark of Nash's, since no proof in the form of documentation was offered for it. However, the existence of a pre-treaty, upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group becomes abundantly clear from Drew's account of his trip through Sprague River Valley in July, 1864. In his official report Drew records that the day after setting out from Ft. Klamath on the Owyhee expedition, he learned that a party of hostile Snakes had attacked a Mr. Richardson's wagon train on the Yreka-Canyon City route, around Silver Lake, Ore., some 60 miles northeast of Ft. Klamath. The Indians had forced the train to fall back to John Day's Ford on upper Sprague River.[53] Drew, who had been ordered into the field to punish and to prevent just such hostilities, on being informed of the attack marched his expedition eastward from Williamson River up Sprague River Valley, which is a forty-mile long, east-west valley located east of Upper Klamath Lake.[54] Well east in Sprague River Valley Drew met Indians, of whom he says:

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The Indians occupying and claiming Sprague's River valley, are a small band of Klamaths, having among them a few of the Snake tribe, who border them on the north and east, and having a Snake-Klamath -- Moshun-kosk-kit -- for their chief.[55] They are physically superior to any of the Indians about the border of the Klamath Lakes, and possess more manhood. They seldom beg and are not known to have ever extorted, or otherwise mistreated any citizens passing through their country. They claim as the boundary of their country the summit of the mountains which surround Sprague's river Valley, the Lost river range being the line between them and the Modocs whose country lies immediately to the southward and extending down to the vicinity of Pitt River. They seem well enough disposed towards a continuance of peace with the United States, but in the event of a general Indian war they would doubtless prove more dangerous and troublesome than any of the other Indians of that region. It was just previous to our arrival among them that the hostile Snake chief Pauline[56] tried to induce them, with the Klamath's generally to join in the murderous operations he was then conducting, and the subject had evidently been warmly discussed; but the chief remained steadfast for peace, and his counsels prevailed.

....the attack upon Richardson and others, made entirely beyond the limits of these Sprague's river Indians was nevertheless charged directly upon them [by some of Drew's fellow officers] for the purpose of creating a difficulty that would necessitate the abandonment of the reconnaissance to quiet. No evidence could be adduced against [the Indians], on the contrary all the evidence that could be obtained was decidedly in their favor, as they had proffered kindly offices to Richardson and his party when they were retreating from Pauline across Sprague's river.

To overcome any suspicion however that might honestly exist against these Indians....I took with me the guide, John E. Ross,[57] Mr. Brown and Mr. Taylor, two other employees connected with the command, Mr. Gabb of the State Geological survey of California, and Mr. Richardson, and proceeded to the camps of the Indians to inspect and investigate more fully than had been done through their visit to us. We gave no warning of our intentions, or approach, and though inspecting and scrutinizing the actions of the Indians and everything about their camps as closely as possible, we found nothing whatever indicating that they were in the attack upon Rich-

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> ardson did not identify any of these Indians as having been among those who attacked him, nor could he discover any vestiges or sign of the property he then lost; and further he urged that these Indians should not be in any way held accountable for what transpired beyond their limits on the 24th of June. We returned to camp satisfied of the innocence of these Indians as to the matters charged. I made such changes in the command, and respecting the administration of affairs at Fort Klamath as would prevent the creating of Indian difficulties, and the consequent failure of the reconnaissance.
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> Passing out of Sprague's river valley in a southeasterly direction we crossed the Goose Lake Mountains....[38]

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From sources other than Drew we learn that the mixed group of Indians Drew met in Sprague River Valley were known in Klamath as p'laikni,[39] which derives from Klamath p'lai, above, high up, on an eminence, plus the suffix -kni, those of, people of.[40] In English the group is referred to as the "Sprague River Klamaths"[41] and "the Bly people."[42]

It was this upland mixed group of borderline Klamath-Northern Paiute living in upper Sprague River Valley which, soon after the October, 1864 treaty, became known as the Yahooskin Snakes of government record, and which was carried as such in Klamath Agency population records for a decade thereafter.[43] We arrive at this conclusion as follows.

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For almost a year after the October, 1864 treaty the Klamath Reservation existed only on paper, and had no agent.[44] During July and August, 1865, Huntington made a third visit to the Klamath Lakes region.[45] On August 12, 1865, he concluded a treaty of cession near Yainax Butte (now Council Butte)[46] in Sprague River Valley with "Pah-ni-ne" (Panai'na, the "hostile Snake chief" mentioned by Drew)[47] and ten other "chiefs and headmen" of the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians."[48] Little is known about this treaty; no minutes of the treaty-council are available.[49] We do know, however, that Huntington got into communication with Panai'na through some captive Snake women and some "partially friendly Klamaths" and that he reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the 1865 treaty was "mainly an addendum to the treaty of October, 1864, with the Klamaths and Modocs, bringing the Woll-pah-pe tribe on the same reservation."[50]

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It seems highly probable that the "partially friendly Klamaths" who assisted Huntington were the Sprague River Klamath group under Motcunka'skEt or, if not that, that Motcunka'skEt must have either attended the 1865 treaty proceedings, which were held eight to ten miles west of Bly,[71] or at least have met Huntington when the latter was in Sprague River Valley. K 101 648

Nonetheless when Huntington returned to Salem, Ore., and sent in his Annual Report for 1865, plus a special list of the population of all the Indians in Oregon, he estimated the Klamath at 1,200, the Modoc at 700, and the "Yahooskin Snakes" at 100 souls.[72] But he fails to note, anywhere in this Report, that any additional Yahuskin had moved to Klamath Reservation to join the twenty-two Yahuskin present at the 1864 treaty-signing, so as to bring the total number of Yahuskin up to a hundred. His estimate of one hundred Yahuskin in 1865 fits the probable size of Motcunka'skEt's group, which Drew says was "small."[73] K 114 161

In September, 1865, Lindsay Applegate, Oregon pioneer who had served as interpreter at the 1865 Walpapi treaty in Sprague River Valley,[74] was appointed Klamath Indian Agent, and assigned to duty in the vicinity of Klamath Lake.[75] He was then living in Ashland Mills (Ashland, Ore.); after his appointment he made two trips to Ft. Klamath in October and December, 1865. During his October visit Applegate "sent out a deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" with Panai'na and some of the Walpapi Snakes who had come on the Reservation as a result of the Walpapi treaty of 1865, to try to make a treaty of amity with one Howlark, a hostile Snake chief then reported to be in the vicinity of Sprague River Valley.[76] This attempt was unsuccessful.[77] On his December, 1865, visit Applegate issued rations at Ft. Klamath to the "few" Walpapi Snakes Panai'na had brought with him to the Reservation, and issued some flour to the Klamath and also to the "Yahooskins," who at the time were also at the Fort.[78] K N 648

The next year, 1866, was an eventful one. In April Panai'na and his Walpapi Snakes left the Klamath Reservation.[79] In May, 1866, Applegate again journeyed from Ashland Mills to Upper Klamath Lake, and started farming operations at Kowasti, the site of the first Agency, eight miles south of Ft. Klamath. The Klamath and Yahuskin helped him in these operations, and the future agency began to take shape. During the sum- N [166] K N [177 241]

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mer of 1866 Major W. V. Rinehart, then commanding Ft. Klamath, took a number of Snakes captive, "with the assistance of the Klamaths and Yahooskins."[80]

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That Applegate did not consider the Yahuskin to be "Snakes proper," although he refers to them officially as "Yahooskin Snakes" is evident from his first annual report, dated August 6, 1866. In this report he remarks, "There are at present no Snakes proper on the reservation unless we except some prisoners in the custody of the military at Fort Klamath....I am led to believe....that there is now a union of all the Snakes proper [underlining ours] for a more determined war....The universal belief among the Klamaths and Yahooskins is that the Snakes are all for war...'The Klamaths and Yahooskins,' Major Rinehart says, 'are eager to vindicate their loyalty, and would willingly become our allies in an invasion of the Snake domain.'"[81]

K N 648 166

By the end of September, 1866, the Snakes captured by Major Rinehart during the summer had evidently been removed to Sprague River Valley. Applegate writes, in his monthly report for Sept. 30, 1866:

> There are some Snake Indians on the Reservation in Moshenkosket's Country [Upper Sprague River Valley], in the care of that chief and his people [underlining ours]. They are the same who were placed there by Major Rinehart, by my permission. I understand that they desire to talk with me and I have appointed the 3rd of October for a talk with them. I do not have confidence that they are disposed to be peaceable only so far as they think it may bring them winter subsistence, and....I suspect that they have, where they are now, constant communication with war parties, and if required to come down nearer to the Fort and the Lower Klamath Indians, so that their communication with Paunine [Panai'na] would have to cease they would possibly leave the Reservation, if they could make their escape.[82]

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Three days later, as scheduled, Applegate met these same Snakes at the Agency. The Snakes professed friendship, asked for winter subsistence and permission to remain in Sprague River Valley. Applegate told them they would have to

> ...come down to Council Grove, near the agency, where they could be cared for and protected. This they agreed to

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> do....[but] on the succeeding night [Oct. 4, 1866] they left the reservation, taking with them some horses and guns belonging to the Yahooskins and Klamaths, and a [wagon] train sent out by Captain Sprague to convey their property [from Sprague River Valley] to Council Grove returned, and a hostile force was sent out instead [to capture them]....I became convinced that danger [from the Snakes] was imminent. Early in October I commenced the fortification of the agency buildings, which were completed....[83]

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The help they had given Applegate and the military in the summer of 1866, and the abrupt withdrawal of Maj. Rinehart's Snake captives from the Reservation in the fall, made MotcunkasKEt and his people apprehensive; consequently they removed temporarily from Sprague River Valley to the vicinity of the Agency, where they spent the winter of 1866-1867.[84] This move brought them in close contact with the Upper Klamath Lake group of Klamath. Friction evidently developed between the leaders of the two groups, for on January 31, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington,

K 578

> "There has been considerable excitement occasioned by an attempt on the part of Moahenkosket chief of the Yahooskins [underlining ours] and his followers, to depose High chief LaLakes and become High Chief himself. But the attempt resulted in little more than a great deal of talk and excitement, and the revolution has been stayed."[85]

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Here we have our first specific instance, in an excellent source, of misapplication of the name Yahooskin to the Sprague River Klamath group. In another monthly report written on May 31, 1867, Applegate makes it clear that the Indians he refers to as "Yahooskins" belonged in Sprague River Valley[86]--and nowhere in his correspondence or reports does he mention any other Indian group as belonging in Sprague River Valley in 1867.

K 101

There is also other evidence, both direct and indirect, indicating that the post-Reservation Yahuskin were Drew's Sprague River Valley Klamath group, to wit:

a) In 1867 and 1868 the Statistical Tables in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs list the "tribes" of "Klamath Snakes &c." of Oregon as "Klamath, Modoc, and four bands of Snakes." These "four bands" are Huntington's Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, Luke-spi-ule, and

K 101 Hoo-ne-boo-ly Snakes.[87] No fifth group (the Yahooskin) is included in the tabulation, as it was in Huntington's 1865 listing of five "Snake bands."[88]

K N 101 131 b) Late in 1868 Huntington made a trip through south-central Oregon; in a long unpublished account of this trip, written at Umatilla Indian Agency and dated December 22, 1868,[88a] Huntington lists and describes all the Snake groups in south-central Oregon. The only Snakes he mentions as being on Klamath Reservation are a destitute group of "about 130 souls" in Sprague River Valley, at "Yinax."[89] It is a matter of record [K 166] that this group of 130 Snakes were newcomers to Sprague River Valley, having moved there only a few months before Huntington visited it.[90] We know that the Sprague River Klamath or "Yahooskin" were also on the Reservation in 1868; therefore, since no reference is made to them it is plain that Huntington, like Applegate, did not regard them as Snakes.

c) In 1870 Klamath Sub-agent Capt. O. C. Knapp refers in his Annual Report to "the Yahooskins, half Klamaths, half Snakes."[91]

K N 166 648 d) In 1872, after Yainax sub-station had been established at the eastern ("upper") end of Klamath Reservation, in middle Sprague River Valley,[92] I. D. Applegate, Yainax sub-agent, enumerated the four groups of Indians under his care at Yainax Station. Applegate lists Schonchin's group of Modoc who were removed to Yainax in 1870;[93] Ocheo's band of Snakes, which was moved to Yainax from Camp Warner in 1869;[94] a Silver-Summer lakes band of Snakes which moved to Yainax in 1868;[95] and finally, "the Sprague River band."[96] This latter group is, obviously, the Klamath-Snake group under Moctunkas'kEt which Drew had encountered in Sprague River Valley in 1864. It is also, obviously, equatable by elimination with the post-Reservation Yahuskin who were in the Valley but who are not mentioned by I. D. Applegate.

K N 161 e) In 1875 population figures for Klamath Agency are given as follows: Klamaths 543, Modocs 103, Piutes 100,[97] Wal-pah-pe Snakes 101, Yahooskin Snakes 143.[98] In 1876 the Yahooskin are silently combined with the Klamath, in the following figures: Klamaths 676 (as against 543 of the year before), Modocs 100, Pi-ute Snakes 100, Walpahpe Snakes 137.[99] The 1877 figures are Klamath 667, Modoc 93, Walpahpee Snake 137.[100] In 1878 figures are given only for the Klamath (681), the Modoc (101), and the "Walpahpee or Yahooskin Snake" (148); the latter entry is clearly a con-

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fusion.[81] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[82] K N 161

f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[83] N K 101 166 648

g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[84] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[85] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, "'No, different altogether.'" Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?'" his answer was, "'No, he says they're not Piutes.'"[86] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute). N K 101

3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they? N 101 131 114

Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of N 648 579

648 579 Snakes, I suppose," and three days later his party saw Indians in the vicinity of the lakes.[107]

Five years later, on Oct. 13, 1832, John Work, another Hudson's 648 Bay Company trader and Ogden's successor as a leader of the Snake 131 brigades, was at Alkali Lake (?), northeast of Abert Lake, on his second expedition to the "the Snake country." In his journal Work records that [487] at Alkali Lake there were "tracks of Indians quite fresh in the hills and along the lake but none of them have returned to visit us yet. There is a beaten track along the lake frequented by horses as well as foot people."[108] A day later, when the fur brigade was camped somewhere between Wagontire and Alkali Lake, one of Work's men, Bte. Gardiapie, who "was going off to the hills to hunt sheep about 10 Oclock in the morning," on approaching the rocks at the bottom of the hill encountered seven Indians who were concealed behind a large stone in the long grass. Gardiapie

> "did not perceive them until he was close too when they im- [609] mediately started up and discharged their arrows at him two of which passed through his capot and two struck the horse one of which wounded him mortally he was fortunate in getting out of their reach where he fired at them but unfortunately missed and seeing some of the people [members of the brigade] coming to his aid they fled into the rocks where they could not be found. This happened within sight and even [579] within cry of the camp. The villains could have no other motive but to possess themselves of his horse, arms, and clothes. It was only this morning I had given orders to the people that should they fall in with any of the natives to use them kindly and endeavour to bring them to the camp so that we might get information from them. It will be difficult to keep some of the people on any terms with them now."[109]

Work and his party proceeded to the west shore of Abert ("Salt") Lake and encamped at a small freshwater spring on October 16-17. This station seemed to be "a usual encampment of the Indians. At some sea- [224] sons they probably kill a good many sheep & other animals as the spoils of them remain about the place."[110] Three days later, Work was at Hunter's Hot Springs, north of Goose Lake. In these springs he found "a number of human schulls and other bones....but how they came there is no knowing."[111]

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Eleven years after Work had been at Abert Lake John C. Frémont discovered Summer Lake, which Frémont named. Frémont and his party traveled south along the west shore of Summer Lake, following a well-beaten Indian trail which led to Chewaucan River and Chewaucan Marsh. At the marsh the ground appeared as though it had been ploughed; Frémont concluded that Indians had been digging tubers, but what these were he could not discover.[112] In the vicinity of the marsh Frémont also found "frequent trails, and fresh tracks of Indians," but encountered no natives.[113] From Chewaucan Marsh Frémont went eastward to Abert Lake, which he also named. On the eastern, or Abert Rim side of the lake Frémont found a well beaten Indian trail, which he followed southward,[114] but again he met no Indians. It was not until he was well out of the Summer-Abert lakes region and south of the 42nd parallel that he actually encountered "some Snake Indians"; by accident, members of his party almost rode over two huts of Snakes, in Long or Surprise valleys, early in January, 1844.[115]

From 1845 onward the Silver-Summer lakes region may have been visited in its northern half by loosely organized companies of Oregon pioneers in search of the "Blue Bucket Diggings," but of such parties we know little, except that their members were often attacked by "Indians."[116] "Some morning about daylight, twenty or thirty red blanketed men, with hideous yells would attack the sleeping men. Then would result a stampede....The few cool heads would make a stand, while the savages after getting away with the horses, would beat a retreat, leaving the gold hunters to straggle afoot back across the mountains [Cascades] to the [Willamette Valley] settlements."[117] Such attacks, however, seem to have been mostly north of the Silver-Summer lakes region.

In 1853 "the lost wagon train of 1853" went south of the lakes (Malheur and Harney lakes, or Silver and Summer lakes?) instead of north of them, trying to reach the Willamette Valley, and had "a very hard time of it."[118] In that same year, as we have already noted, Superintendent Joel Palmer sent Indian Agent J. M. Garrison to visit the Indians between the headwaters of the Willamette and Fort Boise, but Garrison failed in this mission.[119] The next year Capt. Jesse Walker, commanding a company of California volunteer militia, campaigned in Surprise

and Warner valleys. From Warner Valley Walker marched his men across the Warner Range westward, to attack an Indian encampment on the west side of the Warners near the head of Goose Lake Valley. The volunteers "killed two Indians and took another prisoner" at the Indian camp; the company then returned to Warner Valley.[120]

From Ogden's time on, west-east travelers across central Oregon had used the Crooked River route north of Silver and Summer Lakes; in 1846 a more southerly road was laid out.[121] Neither of these "great thoroughfares leading to the States"[122] passed through, or even very near the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, however. Hence this latter region, bounded on the west by the 1,000-foot high Winter Ridge,[123] on the north by a wide expanse of barren high desert,[124] on the east by Abert Rim and the Warner Range, and on the south by mountains and Goose Lake Valley, remained until a relatively late date an isolated, unexplored pocket. By 1859, however, there was a north-south road leading from Yreka in northern California to northeastern Oregon and Washington Territory, which passed through the Sprague River Valley-Silver Lake country.[125] After the gold strikes around Canyon City in the Blue Mountains, and also in the Nez Perce Mountains and around Oro Fino, Idaho during the early 1860's,[126] this north-south trail was well traveled, and was popularly referred to as the "Canyon City Road."[127] Indian depredations on supply trains and mining parties using the Canyon City Road were notable in the late 1850's and early 1860's;[128] some of these attacks, as we have already seen, occurred on the Sprague River-Silver Lake section of the road.[129] Such attacks, however, made by mounted Indians under a leader like Panai'na, who in the early 1860's was operating throughout central Oregon, furnish practically no clues as to whether any Indians were actually living in the Summer-Silver-Abert lakes basin at this time. A map dated January 1, 1864 and signed by Huntington, which shows the location of Oregon Indians, does not assign any Indians to the regions north of Summer and Abert lakes, nor to the region east of Abert Lake, between Abert and Harney lakes.[130]

In the spring and summer of 1864 one scouting party and three major military expeditions took the field against the Snakes of central and eastern Oregon,[131] but none of these expeditions operated in the

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Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which continued to remain isolated and undescribed. However in the late fall, as we have already noted, Huntington obtained by the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin Snake treaty of cession the entire Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, embracing some 5,000 square miles.[132] 648

Two years after the 1864 Klamath treaty cession, in October, 1866, a small military expedition from Ft. Klamath "had a fight with a band of hostile Snake Indians near Lake Abbott [Abert]," fourteen Indians were killed and many wounded.[133] In September of the next year (1867) Lt. Small, then commanding Ft. Klamath, captured five Snakes at Silver Lake, and fourteen on Chewaucan River, between Summer and Abert lakes.[134] Small took his prisoners, nineteen in all, to Ft. Klamath, arriving at the fort on September 22, 1867.[135] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a council with the Indians on the Reservation, including the newly arrived Snake prisoners.[136] Two days later, on October 1, 1867, Applegate wrote to Huntington requesting a Snake interpreter; to justify the request he remarked in his letter, "Besides the Ya-hoos-kin Snakes there is a division of the Woll-pah-pe tribe on the Reservation. These last mentioned Snakes are parties to the Snake Treaty and are residing quietly and harmoniously on the Reservation in pursuance to the provisions of the compact."[137] In none of his previous correspondence does Applegate mention that any of the Walpapi had returned to the Reservation; this is the first reference to Walpapi having settled there since Panaiña had decamped in the spring of 1866. Obviously Applegate's "division" of Walpapi consisted of none other than the nineteen prisoners which Lt. Small had brought to the Reservation eight days previously from the Silver-Summer lakes region. 648 166

Less than a year after the first small detachment of Silver-Summer lakes Paiute had been brought onto Klamath Reservation the remainder of the Indians from Silver and Summer lakes voluntarily removed to the Reservation.[138] These later arrivals numbered around a hundred souls, and were also immediately referred to, in Agency correspondence and records, as "Wall pah-pe Snakes."[139] The applicability of this name, for Indians deriving in 1867 and 1868 from the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, which had been ceded on the authority of the "Yahooskins" in 1864, is reserved for discussion in the second half of this paper. 101 166 648

Notes

121 1. This paper is based on ethnohistorical research done for the
648 Lands Division, United States Department of Justice, in connection with three aboriginal occupancy cases before the Indian Claims Commission: Docket No. 87, The Piute Nation vs. the United States; Docket No. 17, Indians of the Former Malheur Reservation vs. the United States; Docket No. 100, The Klamath and Modoc Tribes and the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. the United States. I wish to thank Julian H. Steward, who appeared before the Commission as the main witness for the Government in hearings on Dockets 87 and 17, and Leland L. Yost, attorney, Lands Division, for basic questions both raised concerning the nature and history of the Northern Paiute "bands" of central Oregon, and for the unlimited help Mr. Yost rendered in locating archival material. To David Cobb of the firm of Cobb and Weisbrodt, attorneys for the plaintiffs in Docket No. 87, I am indebted for an indefinite loan of a set of plaintiff's exhibits, consisting chiefly of copies of letters and reports in the National Archives.

113 The following abbreviations are used:

BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology — Bulletin
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
CDS	Congressional Documents Series
DC	Department of the Columbia
DP	Department of the Pacific
FP	Field Papers
NA	National Archives
OS	Oregon Superintendency
OSFP	Oregon Superintendency Field Papers
RCIA	Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
RSW	Report of the Secretary of War
Stats. L.	United States Statutes at Large
WDC	War Department Commands
WR	War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, Vol. 50.

128 All remarks within parentheses in quoted material are part of the quotation; all bracketed material is ours unless otherwise indicated.

101 2. Snakes (and variants thereof — Digger Snakes, Paiute Snakes,
648 Snake Root Diggers, Upper and Lower Snakes, and so forth) was the early 19th-century name used by explorers, Indian Bureau and Army personnel, and early settlers for the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples in central and eastern Oregon. The Indians themselves never recognised or acknowledged Snake as a name, but did refer to themselves in English as Paiutes. Gradually the latter name came to be used by the Whites; at first more commonly for those Indians of south-central

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Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name.

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At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Aztekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix.

N 101 197 [131]

3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem).

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4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used.

N 101 128

5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383).

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Treaty Between the United States of America and the Wollpah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians; Concluded August 12, 1865; Ratification advised July 5, 1866; Proclaimed July 10, 1866 (Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683).

6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due

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101 to the fact that he did not visit Sprague River (ibid., p. 13). His state-
114 ments on possible aboriginal Klamath settlements on Sprague River are
131 uncertain; he locates, but does not map, hicdiclucluke as a Klamath settlement on middle Sprague River "west of Gearhart mountain" (idem, also p. 16 and fig. 3), and also says that "...there were settlements of some sort on the [Sprague] river near Yainax before the coming of the Whites" (ibid., pp. 14-15) — yet elsewhere he states "...I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague River as Yainax in pre-Reservation times" (ibid., p. 23).

Philleo Nash, whose ethnographic field work among the Klamath post-dates Spier's, recognized the existence of an aboriginal upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group, largely on the examination of Klamath Agency unpublished letters and reports. Nash, however, does not document the existence of this group in his single publication on the Klamath, nor does he describe the group in any detail (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1 and pp. 386, 403).

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551 7. Panaíña is Gatschet's transcription of the Klamath name for this war leader (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 29); no Northern Paiute transcription is known to me. Paulina is the spelling generally used for the several geographic features in Oregon named for this leader (McArthur, Oregon Geographic Names, pp. 410-411).

8. No Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs or representatives
114 thereof actually visited the various groups of Northern Paiutes of south-
648 central Oregon until late in 1868, when J. W. Perit Huntingon made his long-delayed trip from Salem, Ore., via Warm Springs and Klamath agencies to Yainax and camps Warner and Harney, etc. (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18. Huntington to Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868).

Fifteen years earlier, in June, 1853, Joel Palmer, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, had sent Indian Agent Joseph W. Garrison, with presents of trade goods, on a special mission to interview and collect information about the Indians of "Middle Oregon" (RCIA 1853 [CDS #690] pp. 447-448, 451-452; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1853. P-112. Palmer to Garrison, Dayton, O. T., June 22, 1853). This expedition was a failure; Garrison returned home in eighteen days, having been told the Cascades were impassible because of heavy snow (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1853. P-122. Palmer to Manypenny, Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Aug. 4, 1853). A year later, in 1854, Superintendent Palmer appointed one Nathan Olney of Dalles, Ore., as Special Indian Agent for central Oregon (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-384. Olney to Palmer, Dallas, O. T., Oct. 14, 1854) and in 1855 ordered Olney to visit the Indians of central Oregon east of Klamath Lake and to make a full report on them, since "no agent of the

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Government for these Indians has ever visited [them]" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-389. Palmer to Olney, Dayton, O. T., April 16, 1855; Palmer Papers, Box 1854, Palmer to Olney, Feb. 19, 1855 [enclosure with April 16, 1855 letter]). Olney apparently considered central Oregon too dangerous to venture into without military protection, and failed to carry out Palmer's instructions (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-384. Olney to Palmer, Dalles, O. T., Oct. 14, 1854; NA. BIA. OSFP. Letter Book "D," Neil McArthur et al, Salmon River, O. T., Dec. 23, 1854; NA. WDC. DP. 1-5-1855, Palmer to Bonneville, Dayton, O. T., Feb. 20, 1855; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-389. Palmer to Olney, Dayton, O. T., April 16, 1855; NA. BIA. OS. Letter Received 1855. P-389. Palmer to Manypenny, Dayton, O. T., April 18, 1855; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1855. P-493. Olney to Palmer, Fort Boise, Aug. 31, 1855). There is also a hint, in Palmer's unpublished correspondence, that Olney expressed anti-Indian sentiments unbecoming to an Indian agent at The Dalles in 1854 and that Palmer became disillusioned with him as an envoy to the Indians (Palmer Papers, Box 1854, Palmer to Manypenny). In 1856 A. F. Hedges succeeded Palmer as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, and for various reasons exploration of south-central Oregon by Indian Office personnel was delayed until 1868. No adequate mapping of the area existed as late as 1867 (Daily Oregonian, Nov. 12, 1867, Gen. Crook's Campaign).

9. See especially sections 2. 2 and 3. 2 for examples of such manipulation.

10. Primary published source material heretofore overlooked includes Lt. Col. Charles S. Drew's official report of his Owyhee reconnaissance trip of 1864 which, although rare, has never been unobtainable; two Senate documents, Klamath Boundary Commission, published in 1897, and Protection Afforded by Volunteers of Oregon and Washington, relating to affairs in south-central Oregon in 1854; and Pacific Coast Army reports and correspondence for the years 1861-1865, published in War of the Rebellion, Ser. 1, vol. 50, pts. 1 and 2. Drew's Official Report is reproduced in full in the Documents department of this number of ETHNOHISTORY.

Much valuable information is also to be found in two fugitive, but published sources: 1) Publication No. E-344, United States Court of Claims, The Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians vs. The United States. Evidence for Plaintiff, and 2) Indian Claims Commission, Northern Paiute No. 87R, Statements, 1951 (referred to in this paper as the Reno Transcript). A microfilm of the Court of Claims publication is now in the Ellison Collection of Indiana University Library; the Reno Transcript should also be microfilmed, since it is fugitive and contains a wealth of data on Northern Paiute basic subsistence activities, obtained from a score or so of Northern Paiute informants.

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K 114 Two other valuable and fugitive documents, both Mss, are two letterbooks of official letters received, 1869-1872, and letters sent, 1870-1877, from Klamath Agency and Yainax Station; these are now on deposit at Klamath Agency. Nash seems to have been the only ethnologist writing on the Klamath who had consulted these letterbooks prior to 1952 (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1).

N 648 11. See fn. 9. The Indians gathered first at Kowasti, on Agency Lake, but after a few days removed to Council Grove, nearer Ft. Klamath (see fn. 18, below).

12. Huntington was the chief negotiator. He had been instructed to arrange with Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California A. E. Wylie who, since the Modoc lived partly in California, was to serve as the second commissioner, but Wylie was unable to attend. Huntington therefore appointed Warm Springs Indian Agent William Logan, of the Oregon Superintendency, to serve (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270; see also RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 256-259, and NA. NIA. OSFP. Letter Book "H" pp. 743-745, Huntington to Maltby, Salem, Ore., Oct. 28, 1865).

12a. For areas ceded and reserved see Royce, Indian Land Cessions, p. 834, and maps 8 and 51 (California 2, Oregon 1), areas No. 462, 463.

N K 114 131 648 13. According to plaintiff's Amended Petition in Docket No. 100 before the Indian Claims Commission the ceded area contained 13,700,000 acres, of which 1,650,000 acres were set apart for an Indian Reservation (Klamath Reservation). Since neither the Klamath nor Modoc groups had any settlements in the eastern half of the ceded area (Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region), ethnographers have taken for granted that this part of the total area was ceded on the authority of the twenty-two Yahooskin Snakes present at the treaty council — and then have further assumed that the Yahuskin were the aboriginal occupants of the 5,000 sq. mi. Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in aboriginal times (see Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and p. 131).

14. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864. Kelly's letter is dated Oct. 15, 1864.

15. RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 228-229, 256-259; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272; WR pt 2, pp. 991-992.

K 648 16. A. G. Walling says that Lindsay Applegate was an interpreter at the Klamath-Modoc treaty (History of Oregon, p. 523); Huntington states that "Dr. W. C. McKay and Captain Lindsay Applegate...acted as counsellors and interpreters to the Indians" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272). No Klamath and Modoc witnesses in the Court of Claims and Boundary Commission hearings mentioned Applegate or McKay when asked who interpreted at the treaty-signing. Witnesses spoke of

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Charles Preston, a Klamath Indian (who himself said he had interpreted), as well as other Klamaths. Witnesses also said proceedings were from English into Chinook jargon into Klamath. See Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 712, 764, 783, 971; Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 12.

N K 648 162

17. Huntington reports that 710 Klamaths, 339 Modocs, and 22 Yahuskins assembled for treaty negotiations in October (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270). Capt. William Kelly, then commanding Ft. Klamath, in a letter written the day the treaty was signed, says:

"All of the Klamaths, including their slaves were present, and the following is the numbers of the tribes present, viz, of the Klamaths 133 males over fifteen years of age, 286 women, and 214 children. [Total 633 Klamaths, as against Huntington's 710.]

"Of the Modoc's there was present 46 men, 15 women, and 16 children. About 40 of the Modoc warriors were absent with the women and children in their own country. They have about the same proportion of women and children as the Klamaths. [Total 77 Modocs, as against Huntington's 339.]

"There was present of the Snakes [Yahuskins] 11 males over fifteen, 5 women and six children." [Total 22; agrees with Huntington's total] (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.)

N K 361 484 648

18. In all probability the Yahuskins came to the proceedings with the upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group which, in 1864, lived near the head of Sprague River in the vicinity of the present Bly, Ore. (see below). A Court of Claims Klamath witness who had attended the 1864 treaty signing stated in 1926: "There is a lake [Agency Lake] at Go-was-te, and we from Bly came down there — Paiutes too [italics ours]. We of the Bly people came and camped around by that spring there back of Go-was-te; we camped there, and the Klamaths camped near the lake... Then they all moved up to Council Grove and camped all around the Creek where Seldon [Kirk] lived" (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 146-147; see also p. 827).

19. Huntington arrived at Ft. Klamath Oct. 9, 1864 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 270).

N K 114

20. Native accounts recorded in the 1920's and '30's of what went on at the treaty proceedings of 1864 (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 223-237, 302-303, 695-696, 783, 827, 952, 1034, 1050) are sketchy and often garbled; the witnesses had been mostly young children when they attended the treaty negotiations. However these are the only accounts we know of, except for a little material in the Klamath Boundary Commission report of 1896. This latter contains statements from some of the actual treaty-signers who, by 1896, were quite aged.

N 648 21. The treaty is officially dated October 14, 1864, and will be referred to hereafter under that date. Actually however it seems to have been signed October 15; Kelly and Huntington both agree on this latter date (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 270, 651).

22. Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 386.

23. Drew, Official Report, pp. 8-9.

N [131] 24. WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 911. The "main traveled road" Drew mentions ran from Red Bluff, Calif., to Ft. Crook, Calif., thence along the eastern shore of Goose Lake to the head of the lake. From there it turned northeast "via the Malheur" to Ft. Boise, Idaho. See RCIA (CDS #1157) p. 412; Bancroft, Map of Oregon; Blanchard, Cabinet Map; WR vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 1226.

000 25. Drew, Official Report, pp. 5-6.

26. Drew, ibid., p. 7.

27. Drew, ibid., p. 28.

28. California Indians, p. 539; Tribes of California, p. 352.

29. Drew, Official Report, pp. 8, 1.

30. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 269-272; NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.

31. Drew, Official Report, p. 8.

32. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.

33. Treaty of October 14, 1864 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383); RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 269-270.

34. Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 99.

35. Ibid., pt. 2, p. 71.

36. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 23.

K 101 114 37. An example of such metathesis is Power's transcription of sukckni and plaikni, Klamath names for two Klamath groups; Powers transcribes these as Eocskinnes and Blyskinnes (California Indians, p. 539).

N 131 133 38. The Great Basin, habitat of nearly all the Northern Paiute-speaking people, lies directly to the east of Klamath Lakes Basin. At its western edge the Great Basin is some thousand feet lower than the eastern edge of Klamath Lakes Basin.

K 101 39. Spier says: "All the Shoshoneans to the east are called sat [by the Klamath]; no distinctions are made" (Klamath Ethnography, p. 4). A Klamath witness in Court of Claims E-344 said much the same thing (p. 232).

40. Army officials of this period were generally critical of the many unprovoked attacks on Indians by White settlers and miners. Such attacks too often precipitated needless Indian "Wars." Thus Dew, in narrating the clash between the White prospectors and Indians near the head of Goose Lake during his Owyhee Reconnaissance expedition, begins: "During our stay in the [Goose Lake] valley there occurred one of those incidents, that are unfortunately too common on our frontier, and often end in the injury or murder of innocent and unoffending citizens" (Drew, Official Report, pp. 7-8).

41. The Northern Paiute respected Army officers, who had a reputation of making few promises, but keeping their word. Col. Elmer Otis underscored the necessity for this sort of behaviour, in a letter written in the 1870's to Special Commissioner I. D. Applegate: "All promises to Indians must be kept faithfully, or they soon lose confidence and when once lost it is hard to regain" (NA. WDC. DC. 0-31-Encl. 4-1870).

42. Thus Frank Lynch, a Sprague River Valley Klamath testifying in Court of Claims E-344 in 1931 on how he happened to attend the treaty council of 1864, said: "The eastern part of the Indians was requested to come to that council and they arrived at the place they called — below the place where they now call Chiloquin; and from that point we moved to this place of council. And I went there because I wanted to learn something and we had been promised to get some stuff from the Government, was word sent out. That is how I come to be there" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 827).

43. Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, p. 135; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, pp. 16-18.

44. In fact, Drew indicates in a letter dated July 12, 1864 that he considered the Silver-Summer lakes region as being occupied at that time "by Indians of Ou-a-luck's band who are giving so much trouble near Canyon City" (Drew to Assistant Adjutant General, WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 877, 900). In his official report Drew blames another "Snake chief," Pauline, for an attack on a wagon train near Silver Lake on June 6, 1864 (Official Report, pp. 5). Information about Ou-a-luck or Howlark is fragmentary; after 1865 nothing is certainly known about him (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 89).

45. Kelly, ibid., p. 67; Omer C. Stewart, idem; Whiting, idem.

46. Kelly, ibid., p. 69.

47. Kelly, ibid., p. 70.

48. Frank John, a Surprise Valley Paiute witness at the Reno hearings, who was born in Warner Valley near Adel, Lake Co., Ore., ca. 1885,

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and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west, in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions, ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chewaucan in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. II, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p. 212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol. I, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew, Official Report, p. 10; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18 (Huntington's detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15, 24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt., I, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F. Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant attention...They are a roving, nomadic race...a tribe hard to tame, not accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country; cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the offing, immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah, and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

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32, 34, 38-40, 43-44, 68, 73-74, 92, 167-168, 171, 208-211, 216-218, 223-226, 231, 237-238, 255-256, 270-271). See also Capt. John M. Drake's conclusions after his long summer campaign of 1864 against the Northern Paiute of central and eastern Oregon (WR, pt. 1, pp. 341-342). N 114 423 648 K N 161

51. Population figures for the Yahooskins appear in the RCIA for 1865-1875 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 650, 655; RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 89; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] pp. 62, 71, 92; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 584; RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] pp. 618-619; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516, 598-599; no mention RCIA 1871; RCIA 1872 [CDS #1560] pp. 781-782; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1639] p. 384; RCIA 1875 [CDS #1680] p. 618). After 1875 the Yahuskin are included with the Klamath in population figures, except for two confused entries relating to Walpapi Snake population in 1877 and 1878 (RCIA 1877 [CDS #1800] p. 567; RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 788). By 1880 and thereafter population is recorded only for the Klamath, Modoc and Snake Indians; the Snake Indians are the so-called Walpapi Snakes who in 1883 are given as "about 150" souls (RCIA 1883 [CDS #1959] p. 129). N M K 114 131 648

52. Place of Religious Revivalism, pp. 386, 403. Nash is mistaken about the Sprague River Valley Klamath being intermarried with the Modoc in pre-treaty times. There were no Modoc living in Sprague River Valley until 1870, when Peter Schonchin and a small group of Modoc were removed from Modoc Point on Upper Klamath Lake to the newly established Yainax Station in Sprague River Valley (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 532; RCIA 1874 [CDS #1639] p. 447; Court of Claims E-344, p. 200; McLaughlin, My Friend the Indian, pp. 322-323). The Sprague River Valley Klamath were intermarried with the Northern Paiute, as we shall see from contemporary material by Drew.

53. Richardson had evidently been taking his train north on the "trail that led from Yuka [Yreka] via Little [Lower] Klamath Lake" and across upper Sprague River at John Day's Ford to Silver Lake, thence across the desert to the headwaters of the John Day River, when he was attacked near Silver Lake. See RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 142; Drew, Official Report, p. 5; WR, pt. 2, p. 381. K 648 487

54. Drew, Official Report, pp. 2-6; WR, pt. 2, p. 900; NA. WDC. DP. D-58-1864.

55. Variant transcriptions of this Klamath leader's name are Moghenkaskit (Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864) and Motcunka'skEt (Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 36). His Modoc name was Pomoaks (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 409, 954, 998, 1044). After the treaty his English name was Moses Brown (Nash, Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 431). K 551

Drew's material on Motcunka'skEt is fully confirmed in later sources. In October, 1864 Motcunka'skEt's name, recorded as Moghen- K [114]

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K 551 kaskit, appears fourth on the list of "Klamath chiefs and headmen" who signed the 1864 treaty (Stats. L. vol. 16, p. 383). In 1896 Motcunka'skEt, K 648 then about 75-80 years old, testified at Bly, Ore., before the Klamath 115 Boundary Commission that he had been born at Bly and had lived there- [622] abouts all his life, that he had been "head chief of my tribe — the Sprague River Klamaths —" and had signed "the Huntington treaty" of 1864 (Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 16-18). O. E. Stearns, another witness before the Commission, also testified that in 1865, when he was a member of Company 1, First Oregon Infantry, Fort Klamath, the garrison at the fort "always regarded MoghenKaskit and his band as a sort of guardian of the border. We depended on him for information of the hostile Snakes, and when the hostile Indians sent envoys to induce the Klamaths to join them in hostilities, Kaskit and his people held them until we sent for them and took them prisoners" (ibid., p. 19).

K 115 In 1926 and 1931 Motcunka'skEt's two sons, Harrison and Dick Brown, and three other Klamath, Drummer David, Brick Jim and Frank 622 Lynch, all of whom had been born and raised either at Bly or "in the Bly district" and whose ages ranged between 60 and 80 years, testified that Motcunka'skEt had been "head chief of the Bly Klamaths" around the time of the treaty-signing (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 101, 113-114, 127-129, 145-147, 154-155, 163, 220, 825).

Spier mentions "Motcunka'skEt at Yainax" as one of the few chiefs whose names the Klamath remembered (Klamath Ethnography, p. 36).

56. See fn. 7, above.

N 114 57. Probably the same Capt. John E. Ross who fought against the Modoc and Rogue River Indians in 1852 and 1853, and was a colonel, 9th Regular Oregon Militia, in the Oregon Indian War of 1855-1856 (Protection Afforded, pp. 39, 32).

58. Drew, Official Report, pp. 5-6.

K 101 59. Gatschet gives p'laikni as the name of "the Indians living along 131 the Sprague River, so called to distinguish them from the Indians living 114 at Upper Klamath Lake, (or its nearest vicinity) on the outlet of Williamson River" (Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 269). Elsewhere Gatschet erroneously identifies the P'laikni with a local division of the Modoc (ibid., pt. 1, pp. xxxiv, xxxv); this could only be true for the period after 1870, when a small group of Modoc were removed to Sprague River Valley (see fn. 52, above).

Stephen Powers' "Blyskinnes," which he gives as the name of one of the two Klamath groups, are the p'laikni (see fn. 37, above).

Court of Claims witnesses referred to the "Bly [p'lai] Klamaths" (see fns. 18, 55, above).

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60. Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 268; Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 23.

Upper Klamath Lake has an elevation of 4,000 feet; the upper Sprague River Valley around Bly, Ore., is 350-400 feet higher, and according to one Klamath witness, is called in Klamath "The Country From Where the Water Flows" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 114). The name for the present town of Bly is an Anglicization of Klamath p'lai (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 50); the Klamath name for Sprague River was plai or plaikni koke, literally, upland people river (ibid., p. 486).

61. The term used in 1896 by Motcunka'sket, or his interpreter (Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 16).

62. The English name used in 1926 by Dick Brown, Motcunka'skEt's son (Court of Claims E-344, p. 129).

63. See fn. 51 above.

64. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 651.

65. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 646, 650.

66. McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 566.

67. Official Report, p. 5; see also fn. 7, above.

68. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683.

69. Extended search has been made for the minutes in the National Archives.

70. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 651. Despite Huntington's assertion, legally this was an entirely separate treaty.

71. Huntington's party camped "just east of the canyon or narrows" of Sprague River; "the narrows are about eight to ten miles northwest of Bly" (testimony of O. C. Stearns, Klamath Boundary Commission, p. 19). The present town of Beatty, Ore., is at the west end of the narrows, within the Reservation line; Bly is just outside the Reservation.

72. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 655.

73. Official Report, p. 5.

74. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letter Book "H," pp. 735-737, Huntington to Lindsay Applegate, Salem, Ore., Oct. 21, 1865: "You acted as interpreter at the Council of Aug. 12, held in Sprague River Valley, and are fully informed of the results of that Council, and the stipulations entered into by the Snakes of the Woll-pah-pe tribe."

75. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) p. 655; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 89.

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K N 10/ 648 76. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 89, Lindsay Applegate's first annual report to Huntington, dated Aug. 6, 1866. Applegate's reference to the "deputation of Yahooskin Snakes" may be the first instance of confusion of the Sprague River Klamath with the treaty-signing Yahuskin group. It will be recalled that the garrison at Ft. Klamath, in 1865, regarded "Moghenkaskit and his band ...as a sort of guardian of the border" and "depended on him for information of the hostile Snakes" (see fn. 55, above).

In attempting to make a treaty with Howlark, Applegate was acting on Huntington's orders (NA. BIA. OS. FP. Letter Book "H" pp. 735-737, Huntington to Lindsay Applegate, Salem, Ore., Oct. 21, 1865).

N 648 77. RCIA (CDS #1284) p. 89. Howlark declared himself for a continuation of the war and attempted to persuade Panaina to leave the Reservation and join him.

000 78. Idem.

79. Idem.

80. Idem.

81. Idem. See also fn. 84, below.

82. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Sept. 30, 1866.

N K 648 83. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 91-92; NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Oct. 31, 1866. By the fall of 1866, Klamath Reservation and Agency was becoming an established fact, although the Reservation had not as yet been surveyed (RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 24).

84. In his October 31, 1866 monthly report Lindsay Applegate informed Huntington: "There are no Snakes proper, on the reservation, but an attack by them or a raid by them for the purpose of stealing and plundering is daily and nightly expected by the Klamaths and Ya-hooskins...Fearing the Snakes the Yahooskins have moved down within a short distance of the Agency where most of the Indians have collected" (NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D").

85. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Jan. 31, 1867; see also RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 91-92.

N K 222 648 86. "Fearing the Snakes the Ya-hoos-kins until very lately refrained from going into their own country (Sprague River Valley) [parentheses Applegate's] to collect roots which are now found there in great quantities, but I have lately organized a force of Klamaths and Yahooskins consisting of about fifty men armed and about as many women. This

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force is now in the lower part of Sprague River Valley digging roots..." (NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Box "D," Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, May 31, 1867).

87. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 395; RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 812.

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88. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 650-652.

89. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18. Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868. "The chief object of the expedition was to visit the Snake Indian tribes, ascertain by personal inspection their precise condition, and take such measures as were in my power to secure a continuance of the peace recently inaugurated."

N 648

90. See 2. 3.

91. RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) p. 516.

92. Idem; also RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) p. 715.

93. Idem.

94. "Ocheo's band" (now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute) was brought to Yainax from Camp Warner late in 1869, as the result of a council at Camp Harney in November, 1869 (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 531-532; Meacham, Wigwam, pp. 226ff.; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, Nov. 22, 1869). Part of Ocheo's group wintered on Klamath Reservation at Yainax until 1876-1877 (RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 612; Brimlowe, Bannock Indian War, p. 52), but after 1877 none of the group remained on the Reservation, as census figures for 1878 show.

95. See 2. 3.

96. NA. RCIA. OSFP. Letters Received 915, I. D. Applegate to Odeneal, April 30, 1872.

97. Ocheo's group; see fn. 94, above.

98. RCIA 1875 (CDS #1680) p. 618.

99. RCIA 1876 (CDS #1749) p. 218.

100. RCIA 1877 (CDS #1800) p. 300. This is from the Statistical Tables. The Agent's report of Aug. 22, 1877 reads, "Klamath Indians, 667, Modocs included in treaty, 93; Snakes included in Walpalla, or Yahooskin, 137" (ibid., p. 567).

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101. RCIA 1878 (CDS #1850) p. 788.

102. RCIA 1880 (CDS #1859) p. 202; RCIA 1881 (CDS # 2018) pp. 202-203, 343.

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103. Court of Claims E-344, p. 670.

N 115 551 104. Grandson of Winnemucca, the well-known Northern Paiute leader; age ca. 70 years in 1951; born thirty miles north of McDermitt, Nev., and living, in 1951, on the Summit Lake, Nevada, Indian Reservation.

K 101 551 [701] [622] 105. "Chiliquin" is now used locally by Indians and Whites for Klamath-speaking Indians living in the Williamson-Sprague River area (information from Mrs. Charlotte Roberts, Eugene, Ore., March, 1955). Chiloquin was a Klamath war leader who lived on Sprague River and whose name is second in the list of Klamath signers of the October, 1864 treaty as "Chili-que-nas" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383). He evidently had connections with the Sprague River Klamath group; Dick Brown, Motcunka'sket's son, testified in 1926 that his father was "head chief of the Bly [Klamath]," that Le-lu (another treaty-signer) was Motchunka's-ket's "chief sub-chief," and that Chiloquin was his "next sub-chief" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 129, also p. 952). The present town of Chiloquin on lower Sprague River is named for this leader, but his home was farther up Sprague River (Court of Claims E-344, p. 767; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 113).

K [103]

106. Reno Transcript, pp. 68-69.

N 103 107. Elliott, Journals, vol. 11, pp. 218-220. The Warner Lakes are southeast of the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region. We identify "Salt Lake" as Abert Lake because Salt Lake is the name used for Abert Lake by John Work, Ogden's successor, in Work's journal of his 1832 expedition (Maloney, Fur Brigade, p. 11).

108. Maloney, Fur Brigade, p. 10.

109. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

110. Ibid., p. 11.

111. Ibid., p. 12.

K 103 137 222 112. Chewaucan Marsh takes its name from Klamath tchua, wild potato, plus keni, meaning locality or place. The wild potato is generally known in Oregon and Washington as the wapato, arrowhead or sagittaria (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 112). Possibly it was this the Indians had been digging.

113. Frémont, Report, pp. 208-209.

114. Ibid., p. 209.

115. Ibid., p. 212.

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116. Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 27-29; Kennedy, Pioneer Campfire, pp. 116-118; Kendall, Pacific Trail, pp. 173-176; Lockley, Capt. Sol Tetheroe, pp. 8-9. 000

117. Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 29.

118. Budlong, Memories, pp. 5-6.

119. See fn. 8 above.

120. Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14.

121. The Crooked River route led eastward to the Snake River via the South Fork of John Day's River and Burnt River; a branch led to Harney Lake via Silvies River. This trail and its branch had been used since Ogden's time (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-352) and was the route H. D. Wallen followed to Harney Lake in 1859 (Affairs in Oregon) and which Enoch Steen took in 1860 (RCIA 1860 [CDS #1087] pp. 398-400). The Southern Oregon Emigrant Road, or Old South Road, was laid out in 1846 by a company of Oregon pioneers, among them Jesse and Lindsay Applegate. This road led westward from the Humboldt River region in Nevada to the Willamette Valley settlements in Oregon via Black Rock Desert, Surprise Valley, Lassen Pass, Goose Lake, Tule Lake, Lower Klamath Lake, and Rogue River Valley. Feeder roads diverged from it to Red Bluff and Redding, Calif., to Yreka, Calif., to Jacksonville, Ore., and to Ft. Klamath, Ore. For accounts and maps of this important east-west immigrant road into Oregon see Stone, Southern Route; Lindsay Applegate, Notes; Blanchard, Cabinet Map; RCIA 1861 (CDS #1117) p. 778; Kendall, Pacific Trail, pp. 132-143; Winther, Development of Transportation in Oregon, pp. 231-232; Old Oregon Country, pp. 116-117; Camp, James Clyman, p. 56; Drew, Official Report, p. 9; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 90; Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. 1, p. 549. NK 487 131

122. RCIA 1857 (CDS #919) p. 207. 000

123. Which Frémont had so named in 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 207).

124. For an early description of this high desert region see WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343.

125. NA. BIA. Geary to Greenwood, Portland, Ore., Dec. 15, 1859; RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 412.

126. Diagram of Public Surveys (1863); Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 29-30, 33.

127. See fn. 53, above.

128. Idem.

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000 129. RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 412; RCIA 1863 (CDS #1182) p. 177; Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 24, 30.

K N 648 130. Huntington, Diagram of the Reservations.

131. The earliest operation was a preliminary scout in March and April through the Crooked River-Harney Lake-Steens Mountain area by Lt. Waymire (WR, pt. 1, pp. 309-311, 320; pt. 2, pp. 808, 810-811, 826, 830; Miller, Unwritten History, p. 342; Oregon Statesman, May 2, 1864, p. 3, col. 2; Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 62). The three major expeditions which set out in May and June were commanded by Capt. John M. Drake, Capt. George B. Currey, and Lt. Col. C. S. Drew. Drake's and Currey's forces spent the summer and fall pursuing and fighting Indians in central and eastern Oregon; Drew's expedition served as an escort for several large wagon trains and was mainly a reconnaissance. For notices and reports of all three expeditions see WR, pt. 1, pp. 309-353; pt. 2, pp. 804-805; Oregon Statesman, Feb. 22, 1864, p. 1, col. 4; RCIA 1864 (CDS #1220) p. 258; WR, pt. 2, pp. 900-901, 911; Drew, Official Report, pp. 1-29; Report of the Adjutant-General, pp. 11-78.

132. See 2.1.

K 114 648 133. RSW 1866 (CDS #1285) p. 51; RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 99-100. For a Klamath scout's account of this expedition see Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 28-32.

N K 648 134. Morning Oregonian, Nov. 4, 1867, p. 1, col. 5; Oregon Sentinel, Sept. 28, 1867; Daily Alta Californian, Sept. 28, 1867; Yreka Union, Oct. 5, 1867; NA. Records, Oregon Superintendency Indian Affairs. Letters Received. Unregistered diary, 1867, anonymous. Crook also reports Small's scout in the "Silver Lake country," and says 24 Indians were killed, 19 women and children captured, and two camps destroyed (RSW 1868, pt. 1 [CDS #1367] p. 69; see also Daily Oregonian, Nov. 12, 1867, Gen. Crook's Campaign).

000 135. Morning Oregonian, Nov. 4, 1867, p. 1, col. 5.

136. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Unregistered letter, Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 3, 1867.

137. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Vol. E, no. 169, Lindsay Applegate to Huntington, Klamath Agency, Oct. 1, 1867.

138. See 3.2.

139. Idem.

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THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 2[140]

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3.1. The Treaty Woll-pah-pe. The Walpapi are unmistakably referred to for the first time, as signatories to a treaty--that of August 12, 1865, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Huntington at Council Bluffs (later Yainax), on Sprague River.[141] The Indian "chiefs and headmen" who signed this treaty for the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" were Pah-ni-ne, Hau-ni-noo-ey, Ki-nau-ney, Wa-ak-chau, Chok-ko-si, She-she, Che-em-ma, Now-hoop-a-cow-ick, Ke-po-weet-ka, Hau-ne or Shastook, Sah-too-too-we.[142]

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The first published notice of the Walpapi is contained in Huntington's Annual Report for 1865, dated Sept. 17, 1865; in this report he lists "several subtribes of Snakes known as Ya-hoos-kin, Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and Hoo-ne-boo-ey" that were living "East of the Cascade mountains and South of the Blue Mountains" in central Oregon.[143] Four of these sub-tribes had previously been named in treaties--the Yahuskin in the treaty of October 14, 1864, and the Walpapi, Hoo-ne-boo-ey (Hunibui) and Watatkin in the treaty of August 12, 1865.[144] Who furnished Huntington with the names of the five Snake "sub-tribes" we do not know, but we are inclined to believe that they were obtained from Klamath informants.[145]

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648 In the treaty of 1865 the Walpapi ceded a large wedge-shaped tract of land in central Oregon, extending from Harney Lake northward to the North Fork of John Day River. The greater portion of this tract had already been ceded by the Walla Walla, the Confederated Tribes of Middle Oregon, and by the Klamath, Modoc and Yahuskin, in three previous treaties.[147] By the Walpapi treaty (which, as we have already noted, Huntington regarded as "mainly and addendum" to the Klamath treaty, bringing the Walpapi on the Klamath Reservation)[147] Huntington hoped that not only the Walpapi, but all the other Northern Paiute of central Oregon would eventually remove to Klamath, and that depredations by them would be ended.[148]

Upon ratification, the 1865 treaty provided for an expenditure of $2,000 per annum for five years, and $1,200 per annum for the next ten years, for beneficial objects for the Walpapi, such as would "advance them in morals and knowledge of civilization."[149]

Although any certain references to the Walpapi are lacking until the 1865 treaty, references to Panai'na (Pah-ni-ne),[150] the head signer, are fairly numerous. Through such, and also through references to some of the other signers, the ever-shifting locale and some of the activities of the Huntington-designated "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" can be traced over a span of years.[151]

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We hear of Panai'na earliest of all as a captive on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, where he and "We-you-we-wa,"[152] were taken prisoners by Indian Agent A. P. Dennison and turned over to the military for safekeeping. Both captives "appearing to be well disposed," were employed as guides for Capt. H. D. Wallen's wagon road expedition in central Oregon in the summer of 1859, but near Harney Lake the two guides decamped, "taking with them several horses and two good rifles."[153]

Snake raids on Warm Springs were frequent from the year of Panai'na's and Weawewa's capture through 1868, and netted the raiders hundreds of heads of horses and cattle.[154] Panai'na engaged in several such,[155] but not much is heard of him specifically

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until early in the spring of 1864, when he and his forces burned a ranch house east of Warm Springs on John Day River, about a mile below the mouth of Bridge Creek. White settlers and prospectors pursued the raiders, and on the west branch of Trout Creek a mile or so above the forks met some Wasco Indians from Warm Springs Reservation.[155] These Indians had suffered a galling humiliation from Panai'na the day before,[157] and therefore joined the party of Whites in pursuit of Panai'na. Near the head of McKay Creek, a tributary of Crooked River, the party found and attacked Panai'na's camp, but did not kill Panai'na.[158]

By May 17, Capt. John M. Drake's command[159] discovered another of Panai'na's camps "at one of the crossings of Crooked River four or five miles below the forks of the river and 12-14 miles northeast of Camp Maury," where Drake then had his field headquarters.[160] Drake thought at first that this camp of Panai'na's was temporary and consisted of a small group, so he attacked it the next day, but was repulsed. Three of his men, including 2nd Lt. Stephen Watson, were killed, and five wounded. After being reinforced Drake again attacked and Panai'na and his people fled eastward into the mountains between Crooked River and the Canyon City Road. After Panai'na decamped a small group of Snake "night prowlers" hovered around Camp Maury for twenty days, before they could be driven across the Blue Mountains.[161]

Aside from the small group of night prowlers, Drake reports that "the only other Indians around the headwaters of Crooked River [were] Polini's band." The size of Panai'na's forces astonished him, and led him to believe that he had underrated the number of Snakes living in the Crooked River region. According to Drake's own Indians Panai'na had occupied the fortified camp for three or four years; Drake himself thought that "the camp bears every evidence of this fact." Elsewhere he remarks that the upper part of Crooked River Valley had been the home of Panai'na's group "for many years."[162]

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Panai'na's band, Drake concluded at the end of his campaign, probably numbered "fifty or sixty fighting men and some women and children—it would be impossible to say how many—and is composed in part of Snake Indians proper, who have united themselves under able leadership[163] for the purposes of plunder, and in part of renegades from other tribes actuated by a like motive" (underlining ours).[164]

In June, 1864, Panai'na's group committed several robberies on the northern section of the Canyon City Road;[165] by June 24 Panai'na was farther south on the same road, attacking Richardson's train near Silver Lake.[166] From Silver Lake he visited Sprague River Valley, in an attempt to persuade Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath "and the Klamaths generally" to join him in a war against the Whites.[167]

Two and a half weeks later Panai'na was back in the Crooked River country where, on July 12, 1864, he encountered Capt. George Currey's command. Currey forced Panai'na to flee southeast, to the south side of the desert region of central Oregon.[168] Six days later Capt. Currey's expressman from Camp Alvord[169] saw and was chased by five or six Indians of "Po-li-ni's band" in the mountains twenty miles south of Lake Harney.[170] A little later in July Panai'na was again heading west; Capt. Currey was told that the Snake leader "had joined 23 wickiups at a small lake 30 miles west of Camp Alvord."[171]

Still later in July, 1864, Panai'na moved north again to the ever-lucrative Canyon City road. In the High Desert region some distance north of Goose Lake he attacked Tower and Company's train, killing two men and taking 350 head of cattle, which he drove to Warner Mountain, "the Sebastapol of the Snake Indians." On Warner Mountain Panai'na and his group feasted on the cattle and kept a watch on Drew's expedition for twelve days in early August, as Drew moved east of the Warners. Twice Panai'na prepared to attack the expedition, but decided it would not be safe to do so. When Drew explored Warner Mountain on August 8-12 he found

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Panai'na's camp "of about sixty new and deserted lodges, evidently left not more than three days before, and in and around them fragments of beeves that their occupants had feasted upon. The tracks of American horses, ponies, mules and cattle, all coming in from the northward, were numerous and but recently made."[172]

In September, 1864, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the military to locate Panai'na before he went into winter quarters.[173]

Panai'na did not attend either the pre-treaty conference Huntington held at Ft. Klamath late in August, 1864, or the treaty proceedings of October 9-15,[174] although apparently he had been invited to do so.[175] Immediately after the 1864 treaty-signing, however, Huntington sent LaLakes, so-called Klamath "high chief," to Panai'na with a peace message. LaLakes delivered the message, obtained a reply from Panai'na, and left him to return to Ft. Klamath. That same day Huntington and his party, consisting of Indian Agent William Logan, a military escort, and several Warm Springs Indian scouts, while on the trail north from Ft. Klamath to Dalles, Ore., captured one or two Snakes belonging to Panai'na's band, at the mouth of Mill-ke-ke Creek at the Crossing of the Deschutes River. A search was made for the Snakes' camp, and it was found, about fifteen miles east of the mouth of the creek. At the camp, which was a small one, three Snake men, three women and one or two children were captured. One of the captured women was Panai'na's wife, and one of the children his child. Four of the captured men were killed, but one managed to flee to Panai'na. Three of the women and the two children, including Panai'na's wife and child, were taken north by Huntington and put in the custody of Brig. Gen. Benjamin Alvord at Ft. Vancouver, W. T., for the winter.[176]

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Panai'na protested this killing and capturing of his people, through a messenger, "Sky-ti-at-titk, a Snake Indian,"[177] whom he sent to Ft. Klamath on Nov. 1, 1864.[178] Ten days later Panai'na himself came to the Fort to tell Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, that he was tired of war with the Whites, that he

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wanted the women and children and horses that had been taken the preceding month returned, and that he wished to live with his people "between [Ft. Klamath] and the Dalles, East of the trail where it crosses the Des Chutes, and near a big mountain [Paulina Mt.?] East of the trail."[179]

From "one of [Panai'na's] Indians that was at the [Klamath] treaty" Kelly obtained an estimate, based comparatively on the number of Indians who had been at the treaty, "that Pan-ni-nie has about 500 Indians."[180] This number is repeated by George Nurse, an employee at the Fort, who states that "he [Panai'na] has five hundred under his command lit[t]le and great."[181] Nurse also says that Panai'na desired "to come in and live on the rode that Leads to the Dalls that his country is between that rode and the rout[e] that Co[l]. Drew went through this somer."[182]

Kelly observes that when Panai'na first came in to Ft. Klamath "he looked very sullen, his brows were knit heavily but before he left he got cheerful with the hope of get[t]ing his women, &c."[183] From Nurse's letter we learn that "the Captin" [Kelly] gave Panai'na "1 sack of rice and some shugar."

At Ft. Vancouver Gen. Alvord was delighted to hear that Panai'na had declared for peace. In a letter to Huntington, Alvord gives an interesting bit of information about Panai'na, and affords us insight on how the Army and Indian Office "made chiefs." Alvord writes, "Mr. Logan, agent at the Warm Springs Reservation, said that the Indian women said that Po-li-ni's brother was the principal chief, he being only war chief. No doubt it will be our policy to treat Po-li-ni as the head chief if he is friendly and peaceable, to increase if possible his power, and to make use of him in controlling all the Snake Indians."[184]

During the winter of 1864-1865 Panai'na remained at liberty, but was warned to keep the peace and not to go near the Warm Springs Reservation.[185] Early in April he sent word to Capt. Kelly by Motcunka'skEt that he "had been among several tribes of the Snakes, and advised them, as well as his own people, to be friend-

ly with the whites" and to make arrangements with Huntington for peace, as soon as the snow was off the ground. He also sent word that he himself would come to Ft. Klamath after the snow was off the mountains, and would wait at the Fort until his wife was returned to him. MotcunkaˈskEt informed Kelly that "the Snakes were suffering from Starvation."[186]

Huntington planned to meet Panaiˈna in the spring when the trail from the Dalles to Ft. Klamath would be open.[187] By July, consequently, Huntington was at Warm Springs Agency, having with him under guard "two of the women and one of the children captured in [October, 1864]...the other woman and child being left, too sick to travel, at Warm Springs." Later, at Klamath, through the two captive women and "the partially friendly Klamaths"[188] Huntington "got into communication with Pau-li-ne or Pah-ni-nes, chief of the Woll-pah-pe Snakes" and on Aug. 12, 1865 Panaiˈna and ten other Northern Paiute signed a treaty at Council Bluffs in Sprague River Valley.[189]

3.2. The Post-Treaty Walpapi. Two months after the treaty-signing Panaiˈna reported to Capt. W. V. Rinehart at Ft. Klamath that "all the Indians of his tribe who stipulated to come in" were in "MoshenKosk-kaˈs Country"[190] and that he wished to talk either to Huntington or to Lindsay Applegate, newly appointed Klamath Indian Sub-agent.[191] When Applegate came from Ashland Mills to Klamath as a result of this request, he first of all tried, during the middle of October, 1865, and using LaLakes, MotcunkaˈskEt and Panaiˈna as intermediaries, to persuade the hostile Snake chief Howlark, then reported to be in "Blie" or "Moshenkosketˈs country,"[192] to come in and make peace. This attempt failed. Toward the end of October Panaiˈna and "two other principal men of his tribe, 'Enkaltoik' and 'Chat-chat-chuck'[193] returned to the Fort with 'LaLakes' " and Applegate had a talk with the Snakes, explaining to them the boundaries of the Reservation and telling Panaiˈna that he and his people must stay within these boundaries. At that time Panaiˈna was located in Sprague River Valley; "His

648 728 people," he told Applegate, "were not all upon the reservation, but he would bring them within its limits immediately."[194]

Two months later, at the end of December, 1865, Lindsay Applegate met Panai'na again at Ft. Klamath. This time Panai'na had with him four men, and eighteen women and children, all of whom had been wintering in "Moshenkosket's Country." The Snake leader told Applegate that this group comprised all of his people who "were with him on the Reservation....the greater part of his people in opposition to his wishes had gone to pass the winter in that part of the country where his wife was taken prisoner in 1864, and that they had promised to join him on the Reservation early in the spring."[195]

648 166 After Applegate left Ft. Klamath Panai'na and his group returned to upper Sprague River Valley, where they stayed until April 22, 1866. On that date Panai'na, Tchatchaktchaksh, and the other Walpapi suddenly ran off without telling either Motcunka-'skEt[196] or LaLakes that they intended to leave the Reservation. A messenger from Motcunka'skEt to Maj. Rinehart reported, a few days after the fact, that the Snakes had left as the result of a summons to war from the Snake chief Howlark. Two Indians were sent out by Motcunka'skEt to find where Panai'na had gone. Rinehart later reported to Huntington that these scouts "went to Summer Lake then to Silver Lake and found no Indians but saw one fire far northward towards Dechutes river. They seem to think from tracks and signs that he has gone to the vicinity on Dechutes where you captured his family and killed those Indians. The Klamath chiefs agree unanimously that he has broken the treaty and deceived them and that he has gone not to return."[197]

At first Huntington was inclined to be hopeful that Panai'na had merely returned to spend the summer "in the region between Crooked River on the north, Harney Lake on the east, Summer and Upper Klamath Lakes [Klamath Marsh] on the south, and Mt. [137] Paulinee and Queah Valley on the west. This tract of country included in these bounds... affords fine grass. This band of Indians

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have inhabited it heretofore and, in my opinion, have done so this past summer."[198] This however was a vain hope. Panai'ha never returned to Klamath Reservation although, as we shall see, various other Northern Paiute associated with him did return.

While he was on the Reservation Panai'ha and his people did not receive any benefits under the 1865 Walpapi treaty.[199] On July 5, 1866, the Walpapi treaty was ratified, and proclaimed July 10; therefore benefits under it were scheduled to begin in the fiscal year 1867-1868. At the time of ratification the only Walpapi Snakes on the Reservation were two captives the Klamath had taken, who claimed to have signed the Walpapi treaty, and whom the Klamath had turned over to Maj. Rinehart. Rinehart states: "One of the prisoners is named 'Gil-te-wa'[200] and is blind in one eye. The name of the other is unknown to me--but he says he signed the treaty." With the Walpapi treaty ratified, Rinehart was anxious to capture as many Snakes as possible, and states that all of the Klamath chiefs had promised him aid in doing so except Motcunka'skEt, who would therefore be closely watched.[201]

The Klamath brought several other Snake prisoners to Ft. Klamath during the summer of 1866. On July 8 they captured "another Snake named 'La-pa-k-u-git' and reported that three other Snakes were lurking in Sprague River Valley." Maj. Rinehart sent ten soldiers, ten Indians under Blow, a Klamath treaty signer, and the Snake Indian Giltewa as a guide, to capture these Snakes.[202] This party succeeded in taking four Snake men, two women and five children. The men were taken to Ft. Klamath, the women and children being left "at Moshenkaskit's on Sprague River."[203]

Near the end of July, 1866, Lindsay Applegate was able to report to Huntington that

> Major W. V. Rinehart... has captured altogether and brought to Fort Klamath...up to the 20th Inst. about 16 Snake prisoners. They have been captured usually on the headwaters of Sprague River. Two have escaped from custody and one was killed attempting to escape. Thirteen women and Thirty children are on the Reser-

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vation with Moshunkosket's people having been left there by the capturing parties of soldiers and Klamath Indians. These women and children are those who belong to the prisoners at the Fort.

Applegate attributed the Army's success to "the war [against the Snakes] farther North," which probably drove them to take refuge in the Summer-Silver lakes-upper Sprague River country.[204]

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In the meantime, little is heard of Panai'na after he left the Reservation. On Aug. 10, 1866 Capt. Walker[205] with a party of infantry pursued Panai'na "and a large band of warriors. They attacked them, but were driven back, Captain Walker having had a horse killed under him in the fight."[206] Some time in October, as we have already noted, Lts. Oatman and Small, of Ft. Klamath, engaged Indians near Lake Abert; possibly Panai'na was among them.[207]

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By October, 1866, sixty "Snakes proper--16 men and 44 women and children" had been captured and brought onto Klamath Reservation. Among these were Shas'-took, We-ah'-shau, Ske'-zhe, Sah-too-too'-we and Now-weep-a-cow'-ich, all signers of the 1865 Walpapi treaty, as well as Enkail'toak and Wail-a'-cho-ak. These two last-named, with Shastook, met Indian Sub-agent Lindsay Applegate at Klamath Agency for a talk on Oct. 3, and promised that all sixty Snakes would immediately move down from Sprague River Valley to Council Grove, near the Agency, where Applegate and the Army could keep watch on them. Applegate assured them that if they did as told, and remained faithful "they might yet receive the benefits of the [1865] treaty now ratified and made good." Although he does not specifically refer at this time to these captives as "Walpapi Snakes" he clearly (and with reason) accepted them as such.

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True to form, the Walpapi quickly did the unexpected. The night of their talk with Applegate,

> the head men eluding the vigilance of Moshunkosket and his men[208] escaped to Sprague River Valley, and in the absence of that chief and his men, took two of his

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> horses and five guns belonging to his people and with all the Snakes except a few men out hunting and 3 women out digging roots, left the limits of the Reservation, and a train of ten mules sent out by Capt. Sprague to transport their luggage down to Council Grove returned. Twenty Klamath Indians...together with Seventeen men under Lieut. Oatman on the morning of the 5th Inst. started in pursuit of the Snakes.... Only 9 or 10 men are left at Fort Klamath for duty.... The Fort, with its small number of men...would not at all be in Pau-ni-ne's way should he conclude to make a raid for...the military supplies for the winter [now] at the Fort, and the fat cattle on the prairies surrounding.[209]

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No Snake raids occurred on Klamath that fall, however. Panai'na and his band may have spent the winter of 1866-1867 either on Warner Mountain or on Crooked River. In January, 1867, Lt. W. C. McKay and seventy Warm Spring Indian scouts, operating in "Middle Oregon," discovered "that Pau-li-he...was camped and fortified upon a mountain...and the command climbed 2,000 feet to the point of rocks where he was stationed and fought all day, killing three Snake Indians in their hiding holes.... The snow was 14-15 inches deep, and they found it impossible to follow up Pau-li-he's retreat without forage for their horses."[210]

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Three months later, in the latter part of April, 1867, Panai'na was killed on Trout Creek. Ironically enough he was shot, not in battle, but "while enjoying a feast over an ox," and not by the military, but by an Oregon rancher.[211]

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After Panai'na's death, Meacham says that Ocheo, another Snake leader,[212] "assumed command and conducted the last battle fought by this band,"[213] but we have found no corroboration for this statement.

The fall of 1867 was an exciting one on the newly-established Klamath Reservation. In September, 1867, as already noted, Lt. Small captured and brought back to Ft. Klamath nineteen Snake prisoners from Silver Lake and Chewaucan Marsh.[214] On September 28 Lindsay Applegate held a general council at the Agency, at

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which these Snakes were present.[215] From them he learned "that En-kal'to-ak a Snake Chief[216] is disposed to be friendly, that he has been so disposed ever since the Snake Treaty, but has been kept away by hostile parties. A plan has been laid to have word sent to him to come in and also to insure protection to him while coming."[217]

Three days later Applegate requested a Snake interpreter, "in accordance with Article 8 of the Snake Treaty," because, as he said, a division of the Woll-pah-pe tribe was then on the Reservation.[218] In none of his previous correspondence for 1867, nor in the Army's, is there any intimation that any Snakes had been captured near the Reservation that summer, prior to Lt. Small's much-noticed scout in the Silver-Chewaucan Marsh region in September. After that, there were Snakes on the Klamath Reservation who could legitimately be designated as Walpapi, and for whom an interpreter could be requested from a $2,000 a year annuity fund which had already been appropriated.[219]

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In November, 1867, the first annuity goods to be distributed under the Klamath-Modoc treaty of October, 1864, were brought down to Klamath Agency by Huntington and Applegate,[220] and nothing seems to have been done immediately about bringing Enkaltoak and his group onto the Reservation. In his third Annual Report, dated July 31, 1868, Applegate again refers to "a part of the Wolt-pah-pe [sic] Snakes treated with on August 12, 1865" as being on the Reservation.[221] No population figures for Klamath Reservation are given for 1868, either in Huntington's or Applegate's Annual Reports or in the Statistical Tables for that year,[222] but there is nothing to indicate that the Walpapi Applegate refers to, are any other Indians than the ones Lt. Small brought in as captives in September, 1867.

After despatching his Annual Report for 1867-1868 Lindsay Applegate, with an escort of several Agency employees "and fifteen Yahooskin and Wollpahpe Snakes," set out from Klamath Agency on Aug. 1, 1868, for Council Bluffs, in Sprague River Valley,

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"where the treaty with Wollpahpe Snakes was made on August 12, 1865." Applegate's purpose in making this trip was two-fold; to commence farming operations in that section of the Reservation and "to attempt to Secure an interview with the wild Snakes."[223] In both operations he was successful; he started what was soon to become Yainax Station,[224] and several of his Indians met ten Snake Indians on Silver Lake, and persuaded two of the latter to come to Applegate's camp at Council Bluffs. These two Snakes promised Applegate they would collect their people at Silver Lake and immediately come onto the Reservation.[225] By August 28 Applegate was able to report to Huntington that in pursuance of their promise the Snakes had come onto the Reservation, and that "Their chiefs Chock-toot and Enkaltoick, the former of whom was reported killed by troops from Fort Klamath last Summer,[226] are with them.... They say they have long had a desire to get onto the Reservation, but fear of the troops prevented them..."[227]

A letter from Capt. Thomas McGregor gives additional details on how the Walpapi, or as they are often referred to, "Chocktote's Band from Silver Lake" settled on Klamath:

> I have the honor to report..., that about two weeks ago, during my absence on scout, the small band of Snake Indians infesting the Country about Summer and Silver Lake came on to the Klamath reservation, and are now camped on Sprague River, with part of the Klamath Indians,[228] gathering food for Winter. — Two of these Indians were first brought in by some of the Klamaths, when William McKay (Physician at the Agency) started out and had an interview with the band, and brought them all in peaceabley. Mr. Wm. McKay informs me that there are no other Indians in the vicinity of either Summer or Silver Lakes. These Indians have had an interview with the Indian Agent, who made arrangements with them to remain on the reservation. One of the Chiefs who came in reported that he had lately been to Camp Harney.[229]

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648 131 The Northern Paiute from Silver and Summer lakes under Tchákto t and Enkaltoick remained permanently on Klamath Reservation, in the eastern or Upper End. Late in November, 1868, Huntington visited them at "Yi-nax" and found that they consisted [161] of about 130 souls, "in deplorably destitute condition, both as re- [511] gards food and clothing. They are absolutely without clothing.... [262] As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had ceased to harass them...."[230] In December, 1868, Ivan D. Applegate[231] reported thus on the new arrivals: "On Ish-tish-en-wax creek [Fishhole Creek] on the eastern line of the Klamath Reser- [161] vation[232] there are near a hundred Snakes who lately came in, who show a disposition to remain peaceable, all express an ardent desire to be permanently settled on the Klamath Reservation."[233]

648 From 1869 onward the Walpapi were administered from Yainax, together with the Sprague River Klamaths ("Yahooskin Snakes"), Skontian's band of Modocs, and Ocheo's band of "Piutes" or "Snake Paiutes."[234] Occasionally additional Snakes from Silver and Summer lakes came in to join the Walpapi, as in 1870, when [166] Ivan D. Applegate reports that: "On the 15 [March] inst. twelve Snake Indians, Three (3) men, Three (3) women and Six (6) children came in [to Yainax] from Silver Lake. They are highly pleased with the prospect here, and say they will be able to bring in during the comeing summer, upon the Reservation, a number of their people."[235]

648 726 For several years after they settled on the Reservation, hunting parties from "Choctote's band of Pah-Utahs...were not unusual" in Summer Lake Valley, according to Gen. Edward M. Canby. In 1873 three of Tchaktot's people who had gone to Summer Lake to trade were killed as hostiles by the settlers. In 1874, according to Klamath Agent L. S. Dyar, "a small party of Snake Inds. belonging to Chocktote's band" retaliated by killing "one or two head of cattle in Summer Lake Valley, a short distance from the Reservation line .... The leader fled to some of the Snake bands to the East of Warner ...."[235a]

K N 622 648

In 1870 "Old Chief 'Moskosket'" of the Sprague River Klamaths was, by Commissary Applegate's order, "reduced and broken of his rank for disafection [sic] among not only his own, but other bands of Indians. His place has been filled by the election of 'Barcley' [LeLu] a man every way fit to fill the office."[236] The Walpapi Snakes continued to be represented by Tchâktot, however; this chief is frequently mentioned as active in Indian affairs at Yainax, in the records of the Oregon Superintendency for the late 1860's and 1870's.[237] There is only one possible reference, as far as I know, of the other Walpapi chief whom Lindsay Applegate names as having come on the Reservation at the same time Tchâktot did. In his monthly report for April, 1872, Ivan D. Applegate says: "The Summer Lake band of Snakes under Chief Chocktoot and Kilo-to-ik[238] are decidedly in favor of remaining permanently here, and take much interest in ... farming operations, and in improvement generally."[239]

N [177] [241]

In 1869 Col. Elmer Otis, commanding the District of the Lakes, states that "Choe-tote's Band" numbered "about one hundred and eighty (180) Indians, young and old, male and female."[240] In 1872 the population of the Walpapi Snakes is officially given as 38 males, 60 females, total 98;[241] this agrees with Col. Otis' statement of the same year that "Choctote's band then consisted of about 100 souls."[242] In March, 1872, however, Ivan D. Applegate wrote from Yainax that "During the month the Klamath Indians of this place[243] together with about one hundred and fifty Snakes went with permission to Lost River where they have caught and dried a very large supply of fish. The Ocheo or Piute band remaining here."[244] In 1873 Klamath Indian Agent L. S. Dyar gives the Walpapi population as one hundred and twenty-eight.[245]

N [161] 648

K N 226 251

N [161]

Direct descendants of Tchâktot and Panai'na still live at the "Piute Camp" near Beatty, Ore.,[246] but as far as I could judge from a brief visit at Klamath Agency in 1952, the name Walpapi has passed out of common usage. Members of the single Northern Paiute group now living on the Klamath Reservation are usually

N 101 [361]

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N 101 referred to as "Piutes;" direct questioning will, however, elicit another name — Yahuskin. Pete Paulina, for example, when specifically asked at a court hearing in 1927, perfunctorily admitted to being a Yahuskin; so did Bob Foster, another witness also living at the Piute Camp near Beatty.[247] "Piute" and "Yahuskin" may have become synonymous several decades ago; Inspector James McLaughlin, writing in 1910, refers to the Piutes of the Upper End of Klamath Reservation as the "Ya-hoo Snakes or Ya-hoos-kins" and the "Ya-hoos."[248] Such a confusion of names on the part of White interrogators and authors is regrettable, to say the least.

N 114 The only ethnographer who has visited the present day Northern Paiute on Klamath Reservation is Isabel Kelly, who spent five days at Beatty, Ore., in 1930. Kelly states that "The Beatty band [622] [of Northern Paiute] is known as the Go?y'atikad^{u}, Freshwater crab eaters, a designation which is post-reservation in period. N [166] The members of this band came originally from Summer and Silver Lakes, Oregon, where they were known as the Dühü'tcyatikad^{u}, or Deer eaters."[249] N 115 Kelly obtained some folk tales and one historical narrative about Tcháktot from Beatty informants;[250] also some ethnographic data from Dr. Sam Weta, a former Northern Paiute shaman who in the early 1860's had lived at Silver Lake.[251]

N 181 According to what I was told in 1952 by Klamath Indian Agent E. J. Diehl, the Piutes on Klamath Reservation today are noticeably conservative, in comparison with the Klamath and Modoc parts of the Reservation population.

(To be concluded)

Notes

K N 101 114 140. Since Part 1 of this paper appeared, additional archival material was found which establishes an historical continuity for the Walpapi Snakes, possibly from 1859 onward, but certainly from 1864 up to the present. This new material, which is included in the present Part 2, also goes far to confirm identification of the post-Treaty Yahuskin as a Klamath group of upper Sprague River Valley.

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N 648

141. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683. One possible earlier mention of the Walpapi is contained in a letter from Indian Agent A. P. Dennison to J. W. Nesmith, Dalles, Ore., Jan. 17, 1859: "While at the [Warm Springs] agency I made a short trip into the Snake country and met about one hundred and fifty of the Wah Push Pel band of Snake Indians, they seemed much pleased to see me, treated me very kindly and the chief, We-ah-we-ah and eight of his headmen came to the agency and I made them a few presents. I think this band of Snakes would be very glad to treat with the Govt. for their lands. They are almost entirely destitute of provisions and near naked" (Na. BIA. OS. Letters Received).

N [511] [291]

142. Weawewa, who between the time Dennison visited him in 1859 (see fn. 141) and 1865 had become notorious for his raiding activities, had also been invited to the Walpapi treaty. He did not appear because some of the Paiutes told him that the Whites would kill him (Na. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands. DC. 9-K-1868. Wm. Kelly to George Williams, Camp Harney, Ore., June 25, 1868).

N 648 726

143. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 649-650.

144. Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383; ibid., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 5.

K N 101 222

145. A possible etymology for Yahuskin, in Klamath, has been suggested (p. 102). Wah-tat-kin may be the Klamath version of wada (Northern Paiute name for Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., the seeds of which were gathered for food [Whiting, Northern Paiute Sorcery, p. 19]) plus the Klamath suffix -kni, those of, people of, Anglicized as -kin (see p. 102).

Hoo-ne-boo-ey probably derives from N. Paiute hu.nibui (Lomatium macrocarpium C and R) the root of which was gathered for food (Whiting, ibid., p. 17).

Walpapi may be the Klamath form for wah push pel, presumably the N. Paiute name for the group with Weawewa in 1859 (fn. 141).

N 648

146. Treaties of June 9, 1855; June 25, 1855; Oct. 14, 1846 (Royce, Indian Land Cessions, pp. 804-805, 808-809, 834-835; pl. CLVIII, "Oregon I,").

147. See p. 106 and fn. 70. This remark of Huntington's, although meaningless, has been frequently echoed; see RCIA 1866 (CDS #1204) p. 6; Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 7, 19.

148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. Indeed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panai'na's name are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panai'na's appearance in the literature, "Snakes," as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Deschutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habitations, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr. McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and obliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but McKenzie was a reliable reporter.

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In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

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N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868). The military clearly places the blame for starting hostilities on the Warm Springs Agency physician: "The General commanding believes it was the conduct of Dr. Fitch last spring in attacking the Snakes with a party of the reservation Indians that excited the Snakes into the subsequent attack upon the agency.... A continuation of such conduct...by Agent Dennison will lead...to a border war...." (ibid., Letters Received, A. Pleasanton to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Oct. 15, 1859); Capt. H. D. Wallen also calls the same raid "retaliatory" (ibid., Wallen to E. R. Geary, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Dec. 10, 1859), but Indian Agent G. H. Abbott, who succeeded Dennison, had another explanation (ibid., Abbott to E. R. Geary, Warm Springs, Ore., Jan. 28, 1860).

Be this as it may, the temper of the Deschutes Snakes changed very quickly, some time in 1859. In his annual report for that year Dennison states that the Warm Springs Reservation had "one great drawback," namely, "the frequent attacks of the Snake Indians who live on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, directly opposite the reservation on the eastern side of the Des Chutes river. These attacks are generally made in the night time, for the purpose of stealing stock; but several of the friendly [Warm Springs] Indians, while out herding their stock, have been fired upon and wounded by the Snakes, and some of them killed.... The Snakes having made several attempts to run off the horses and cattle belonging to the [Indian] department, and threatened to burn the agency buildings and fences, I made application to the Commander of the Military Department of Oregon General W. S. Harney for a force sufficient to protect the public property" (RCIA 1859 [CDS #1023] p. 801). Contrast this with Dennison's report on his January, 1859 visit to Weahweah's camp (fn. 141).

It is in the year 1859 that references to Panai'na start.

152. See fns. 141, 142. Weawewa's name is written variously; there is no phonetic transcription of it that I know of.

153. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; Wallen, Affairs in Oregon.

Superintendent A. B. Meacham, who succeeded Huntington, states that "many years" prior to 1869 Weawewa had been a captive at Warm Springs, and had learned to speak Chinook jargon and some "Boston" (English) (Meacham, Wigwam, p. 226).

154. Warm Springs Agent John Smith notes Snake raids on the Agency from 1859 through 1863; in 1859 the Snakes ran off 700 head of horses and took over the Agency buildings for a time; in 1863 they stole 200 horses. No raids are noted for 1864-1866, but in the latter year Weawewa wintered on the Deschutes River and raided Scott's ranch on Trout Creek, twelve miles east of the Warm Springs Agency (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. John Smith to J. W. Perit Huntington, Warm Springs Agency, Ore., April 11, 1866; NA. WDC. DC. R-35-1866, clipping from Daily Mountaineer, April 19, 1866 enclosed with Smith's letter). The next year (1867) Weawewa raided Warm Springs and killed Past-am-ine, "one of the most intelligents Indians" (RCIA 1868 [CDS #1399] p. 579). In 1868, before Gen. George Crook's peace at Camp Harney was concluded on June 30, 1868 (see fn. 223), there were minor raids on Warm Springs, with a total of thirty to forty horses stolen (idem).

155. In 1862 and 1863, according to Capt. John M. Drake, Panai'na raided Warm Springs and also extended his activities eastward to the Canyon City road (WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 334). This road from Silver Lake to Canyon City, Ore., was then being used by heavily loaded supply trains and drovers, and was a new and lucrative field of operation for Panai'na. Gold had been discovered at Canyon City in 1862, and "work commenced in 1863 ... although the miners often suffered severely from the depredations of the Snakes." Canyon City was then "considered as good a mining camp as any in Oregon or Northern California" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Ore., Dec. 22, 1868).

Fear of attack from Panai'na and his warriors in the Warm Springs region persisted until 1867; in October of that year Huntington, apparently still skeptical of reports that Panai'na had been killed (see below), requested a military escort for the first annuity goods he was taking from Dalles, Ore., to Klamath Agency. He specifically asked for this escort "after leaving Trout Creek (which is about twenty miles North East of Warm Springs Agency and forty miles North of Crooked River)" because "Beyond Trout Creek is the country of Pauline and his band, the most dangerous of any on the route. I shall be very reluctant to go into it without escort" (NA. BIA. OSFP. J. W. Perit Huntington to F. Steele, Dalles, Ore., Oct. 12, 1867; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73).

156. For location of Trout Creek see fn. 155. The Trout Creek region at this time was supposedly "neutral ground" between the Snakes and the Warm Springs Indians, and was used by the latter for hunting (Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 53).

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N 648 157. A Snake Indian, a member of Panai'ha's party, had treacherously murdered the Wasco leader Queapama as he advanced, unarmed, to meet Panai'ha for a peace talk (Thompson, ibid., pp. 51-53).

N 789 158. A superstition generally current among many of the Oregon Indian groups at this time was attached to Panai'ha — namely, that he was bullet-proof (Thompson, ibid., pp. 53-54). For the general currency of this belief see NA. WDC. DC. 1054-DC-1874. Frank C. Wheaton to A.A.A.General, DC, Camp Warner, N [756] Ore., May 6, 1873: "Oche-ho [see fn. 94] cannot be convinced today that a bullet shot at his chief medicine man would harm or injure him in any way, and only a few weeks since he kept a party N [776] of incredulous Klamaths waiting three days at his camp while his Medicine Man was arranging with the Great Spirit to catch all bullets fired at him.

N [171] [174] "I believe this superstition to be general and deeply rooted among Indians in Southern Oregon, and have been told that it originated with the Cayuse & Coeur D'alene Bands."

159. See p. 114 and fn. 131.

160. Camp Maury was not a permanent post (WR, pt. 1, p. 330).

N 648 726 161. WR, pt. 1, pp. 337-338. Panai'ha later confirmed Drake's report; in the fall of 1864 he told Capt. Wm. Kelly of Ft. Klamath that he "had been fighting the soldiers during the first part of the N [712] summer, and was in the fight in which Lieut. Watson was killed, and that he was at the Indian Fort or stone fortification afterwards" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864).

162. WR, pt. 1, pp. 331, 333, 338, 341.

N 701 159 163. Panai'ha's abilities impressed both military and Indian Office personnel. Huntington considered him the Snakes' "most celebrated war chief and their most efficient leader"; Meacham says Panai'ha was "probably the most daring and successful leader the Snake Indians ever had" (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 73; Meacham, Wigwam, p, 215).

164. WR, pt. 1, p. 341.

165. WR, pt. 2, pp. 878-879.

166. Drew, Official Report, pp. 6, 30.

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167. Drew, ibid., p. 5.

168. WR, pt. 1, p. 339. This wide strip of High and Low Desert is graphically described in WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343.

169. Camp Alvord was located north of Lake Alvord.

170. WR, pt. 1, p. 333.

171. WR, pt. 1, p. 324.

172. Drew, Official Report, pp. 24, 14.

173. WR, pt. 1, p. 340.

174. "I have the honor to report that Pan-ni-ne, war chief of a band of the Snakes, called on me today. It is the first time that he has been in. He has been at war with the whites since they first entered his country" (NA. WDC. DP. K-77 K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864).

175. "Superintendent Huntington in holding a council early in October near Fort Klamath, with the Modocs, Klamaths, &c., invited the Snakes to attend. Only a very few presented themselves" (NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864).

176. There are several versions of this whole affair, varying as to details. Panai'na's own account, delivered through a messenger to Capt. Kelly at Ft. Klamath, is in a letter, NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. Huntington's account is in RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270. Other accounts and references to the affair are in: NA. WDC. DP. K-77, K-30, 1864. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Nov. 10, 1864; NA. WDC. DP. A-176-1864. Benj. Alvord to R. C. Dunn, Ft. Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 25, 1864; WR, pt. 2, p. 1144.

177. Possibly the same "Yahooskin Snake" Indian who signed the Klamath treaty of Oct. 14, 1864 as "Sky-te-ock-et" (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383), although not noted as such in Kelly's letter. If he was, however, we know that at least one of the two Yahuskin signers joined Panai'na very soon after the treaty was concluded.

178. WR, pt. 2, p. 1068; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 1, 1864. La Lakes and several other Klamath treaty-signers also protested the outrage done to Panai'na.

N 131 179. This is about where Panai'na's people were found by Huntington. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

180. Idem.

181. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to Mr. Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

182. Idem. The reference is to Drew's Owyhee expedition. Roughly, Panai'na's "country" included almost the entire eastern half of Oregon, according to Panai'na's own statement. If he had any home base, however, the 1864 material seems to indicate that it was in the Deschutes-Crooked River region.

183. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

184. WR, pt. 2, p. 1072.

185. Ibid., pp. 1114-1115.

N 648 186. Nurse also sent Huntington much the same information in a letter written about the same time. Nurse says Panai'na intended to "fetch as many off his Indians as posible in this somer if ther was any way to treet with him and make a permanent Treaty" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865).

187. WR, pt. 2, pp. 1114-1115.

K 101 729 648 188. Undoubtedly Motcunka'skEt and his people; for once Huntington refers to them correctly as Klamath, not Yahuskins. Motchunka'skEt often served as a go-between for Snake hostiles and Huntington, Lindsay Applegate, and the military at Ft. Klamath (see fn. 55, and fn. 186 and text) but his loyalty to the Whites was at this period somewhat questionable (fn. 201 and text. Cp. pp. 106-107).

189. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 650-651; Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683.

K 131 423 101 621 190. I. e., in Sprague River Valley, probably in the upper part. This valley is often referred to, both by the military and Indian Office personnel of this period as "Moshenkoskut's country," "the Yahooskins' own country," "Blie or Moshenkoshut's country," and "Blie or Sprague River Valley." See fn. 86; also NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore , Oct. 31, 1865.

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191. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Oct. 6, 1865.

192. P. 106 and fns. 59-62.

193. Gatschet records this name as Tchatchâktchaksh (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 291). N 551

194. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 31, 1865; p. 107 and fns. 76, 77.

195. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Jan. 20, 1866; p. 107 and fn. 78. N 361 221

Despite Panai'ha's statement to Applegate that his people were wintering near the Deschutes, there is a possibility that some of his group, at least, wintered in the Silver-Summer lakes region east of Sprague River in 1865-1866. In May, 1866, the Klamath decoyed a Snake man in Sprague River Valley and took him prisoner; this captive told them he was "of those of Pauline's people left near Silver Lake last fall and that before ... all those left [Silver Lake] he had come onto the Reservation to hunt [Panai'ha] up" (NA. BIA. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, May 30, 1866). N K 648

196. Motcunka'skEt was not at his camp in upper Sprague River Valley at the time; probably he was at Ft. Klamath (see p. 107).

197. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 24, 1866; ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, May 3, 1866; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 28-31.

198. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. Huntington wrote this fourteen months after the Walpapi treaty had been signed. The large rectangular tract he refers to lies mainly within the northern part of the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty cession, and is west of the triangular area ceded by Panai'ha in 1865. N 361 131

199. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. No annuities or other benefits were paid during the fiscal year 1866-1867, either (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 63). N K 648

N 551 200. "Giltewa" is referred to in another letter of Rinehart's, where his name is translated as One-eyed and he is spoken of as "one of Pauline's men" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., May 3, 1866). His name does not appear as an 1865 Walpapi treaty signer, but in April, 1865 Capt. Kelly refers to "The Old One eye man that attended the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has been badly torn by a Grisley Bear. The Indians set fire to a hill where the Bear was in and he rushed on the Old Man, and bit him badly besides burning him" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 8, 1865). George Nurse also mentions this in a letter written two days before Kelly's: "I hear one of the Snakes that was in Last fall at the [Klamath, 1864] treaty has shot himself the other has been nearly Killed by a Grisley Baer" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865).

N [224]

K 648 201. NA. BIA. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 2, 1866. It will be noted that Rinehart speaks of Motcunka'skEt's questionable loyalty. Lindsay Applegate, writing a few months later, mentions that "The Yahooskin Snakes are considered to some extent doubtful..." (NA. BIA. OS. Klamath Indian Sub-agency, Ore., Oct. 25, 1866). Here again the Klamath chief Motcunka'skEt and the post-1864 treaty Yahooskins are equatable.

N K [101]

202. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 9, 1866.

203. Ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., July 13, 1866.

N 648 204. Ibid., Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., July 24, 1866. General George Crook started campaigning against the Oregon Snakes in the winter of 1866-1867 (Crook, Autobiography, pp. 142-159). The Army was active during the summer of 1866, however, before Crook arrived.

205. Perhaps Capt. Jesse Walker; see pp. 113-114, fns. 49, 120.

206. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) p. 78.

N K 649 207. P. 115, fn. 133.

208. Motcunka'skEt was probably at the Agency with Applegate for the "talk" with the Snakes.

209. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 11, 1866; pp. 108-109 above.

210. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 99-100; Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 32.

211. RCIA 1867 (CDS #1326) pp. 101-102; Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215 (Meacham erroneously attributes Panai'na's death to McKay's Warm Springs Indian scouts); Gregg, Pioneer Days, p. 33; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335; Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 62-63 (detailed and reliable account).

212. Fn. 94.

213. Meacham, Wigwam, p. 215.

214. P. 115, fn. 134. Lt. Small's forces, so it was reported, killed two Snake chiefs, "Chichocchox" (Tchatchákтchaksh; see fn. 193) and "Chaetook" or "Chocktoosh," both said to have been signers of the Klamath treaty of 1864. This much publicized report was in large part erroneous. In 1867 "Chocktote's" death is specifically denied by Lindsay Applegate (see below) and Tcháktot (as Gatschet records the name: Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 58-62; pt. 2, p. 427) appears, very much alive, on Klamath Reservation in 1868. Neither his name nor Tchatcháktchaksh's are listed as signers of the 1864 or 1865 treaties.

Gatschet, on the authority of a single — and erroneous — reference, says that Tcháktot belonged to the "Yahuskin tribe of Snake Indians" (ibid., pt. 1, p. 62, quoting L. S. Dyar, Klamath Indian Sub-agent in RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; pt. 2, p. 427); Omer Stewart also mentions Chocktoot as a Yahuskin chief (Northern Paiute Bands, p. 132). Stewart cites the same erroneous source. In unpublished correspondence Dyar silently corrects his error (Record, pp. 249-250, L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Ore., July 1, 1874; ibid., p. 329; L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Sept. 30, 1875).

215. Enkaltoak is our connecting link between Panai'na's small Reservation Walpapi group, the captives of 1866 who had signed the 1865 treaty, and the Snakes who, in 1867, were living in the Silver-Summer lakes region. He re-appears on Klamath Reservation with the Silver-Summer lakes Snakes in 1868 (see below).

217. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore., Oct. 3, 1867.

218. P. 115, fn. 137.

649 219. Indian Bureau records show that the first of the five annual $2,000 payments provided for in the Walpapi treaty was appropriated for the fiscal year 1867-1868, and for each fiscal year thereafter, through 1871-1872 (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1320] p. 376; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 810 RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] p. 973; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] p. 823; RCIA 1871 [CDS #1505] p. 1067. After 1872 ten annual payments of $1,200 were still due (idem). These were earmarked at Klamath Agency for "the Wal-pah-pe" or "Chocktote's band of Snakes" (Record, pp. 130-133, L. S. Dyar to Commissioner E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, Ore., July 21, 1873; Record, pp. 220-222, L. S. Dyar to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Klamath Agency, Ore., Sept. 5, 1874).

000 220. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 3, 1867; NA. BIA. OSFP. J. W. Perit Huntington to F. Steele, Dalles, Ore., Oct. 12, 1867; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Nov. 18, 1867; ibid., Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Nov. 30, 1867; RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 583.

221. RCIA 1868 (CDS #1366) p. 583.

222. Ibid., p. 812. Perhaps purposely?

648 223. Applegate was led to make this attempt because, after many of the Oregon Snakes surrendered to Gen. Crook at Camp Harney on June 30, 1868, "signal fires had been seen on the moun-
[201] tains surrounding Silver Lake, conveying an idea that the Snakes inhabiting that part of the country desired a conference with the Snakes on the Reservation." For Crook's peace council see, among other references, NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC 30-C-1868, George Crook to A. A. General DC, Camp Warner, Ore., July 6, 1868; NA. WDC. DC. 1868-1869. General Orders No. 24, Hdqtrs. DC, July 11, 1868; Crook, Autobiography, p. 159.

224. Applegate broke ground for farming and began building two log houses at his campsite, which was probably near the site where the Indians were used to gather each autumn. Later that same year his son, Ivan D. Applegate, was appointed by Huntington as Commissary for Subsistence for the Snake Indians and, since some of the Walpapi Snakes were in Sprague River Valley

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then, Ivan began to operate from the site his father had chosen. This site became "Yia-Nax," later "Yainax," and in 1870 was made a Sub-station with independent budget, on the Klamath Reservation. All that remains at the site now is an old barn, but in the 1870's it was a busy station, administering the affairs of the four separate groups of Indians on the Upper End of Klamath Reservation. For accounts of Yainax see NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent, Clarke, Pioneer Days, vol. 1, pp. 115, 118-123; McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 566; J. W. Perit Huntington to Ivan D. Applegate, Klamath, Ore., Nov. 18, 1868; ibid., J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868; ibid., Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1869; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, "Yia-Nax," Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; RCIA 1871 (CDS #1505) pp. 715-716; fn. 94, above.

225. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 18, 1868.

226. Fn. 214.

227. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Ore., Aug. 28, 1868.

228. Namely, with Motcunka'skEt's Sprague River Valley Klamath group. This is still another example of the Army's avoidance of the name "Yahooskin" for this group.

229. NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 34-M-1868. Thos. McGregor to A.A. General, District of the Lakes, Fort Klamath, Ore., Sept. 1, 1868. The chief mentioned had probably attended Gen. George Crook's peace proceedings at Camp Harney; see fn. 223.

230. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Indian Agency, Dec. 22, 1868.

231. For identification, and use of this creek, which appears as Fishhole Creek on modern maps such as the U. S, Geological Survey's State of Oregon, 1:500,000, see Klamath Boundary Commission, pp. 5, 15-19.

At the time Applegate was writing, Fishhole Creek was considered to be within the Reservation line, and Motcunka'skEt and his people were living on or near it, in the vicinity of the present town of Bly, Ore. (see fn. 55). At one point Fishhole Creek had

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N K 226 been dammed, and in April and May small fish in great numbers, known as ishtish, were collected by the Klamaths, Modocs and N [103] Paiutes at this dam, the site of which was known as Ishtishweawax. When the Reservation boundary lines were run in 1871 and N K [166] Fishhole Creek fell outside the eastern line, the Walpapi and Sprague River Klamath apparently moved a few miles west, within the Reservation line and near the present town of Beatty, Ore.

233. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, Dec. 31, 1868.

N [101] 234. These four groups are mentioned repeatedly in published and unpublished sources relating to Klamath Reservation and Yainax, from 1869 onward. See, for example, p. 110.

000 235. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received, Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia Nax [sic], Klamath, Ore., March 31, 1870.

235a. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ed. M. Canby to Governor of Oregon, Van Bremer's, Cal., Mar. 23, 1873; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1578] p. 692; NA. WDC. DC. 1195-D.C.-1873. L.S. Dyar to H. Clay Wood, Klamath Agency, Ore., June 2, 1873; Record, pp. 199-200.

236. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Dec. 31, 1870; ibid., Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yia-Nax, Klamath Reservation, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871; fn. 105. LeLu was a Klamath.

N 648 237. In November, 1869, Tcháktot attended and spoke at a council Superintendent Meacham held with various Snake leaders at Camp Harney (NA., Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1970, Encl. 1. A. B. Meacham to A. L. Dallas, Camp Harney, Oct. 29, 1869; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1870. M-1045. Report of Proceedings of Indian Council held at Camp Harney, Nov. 8, 1869; NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC, 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A. General, Portland, Ore., Nov. 22, 1869). In 1870 we learn that Meacham had had a small, chimneyless house built for Tcháktot, that in June Meacham gave Commissary Ivan D. Applegate permission to take Tcháktot with him on a twenty-day trip, and that in October Applegate proposed to employ Sam'l. Reed, a "Yahooskin," and Jake Chocktoot, a "Snake," at Yainax (WDC. DC. 0-31-Enc. 1-1870. Elmer Otis to A.A. General, DC., Camp Warner, Ore., June 8, 1870; Official Letters Received, A. B. Meacham to I. D. Applegate, Salem, June 15, 1870; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Ap-

plegate to A. B. Meacham, Klamath Agency, Oct. 18, 1870). In 1871 Tcháktot was sent with Dr. William C. McKay, Klamath Agency physician, by Meacham's order, "to collect Snake Captives now with Indian tribes in Eastern Oregon;" about twenty miles from the Umatilla Council Ground, so McKay wrote to Ivan D. Applegate, "Old Choctoot, Skaidot and the Young Man gave me the slip ... they must have taken a straight shoot across the Blue Mountains and into the Silver Lake Region... Little Bob told Donald McKay, that... he herd Choctoot telling the other two that he was not going to attend the Umatilla Council, as he was afraid to meet old We-Yawewa and his band: also many other Indian's bands who are to assemble there... they went off well rigged each on a Govt. mule saddle, blankets bridles, and well cloathed." Evidently the deserters returned to Sprague River Valley, because at the end of October Ivan D. Applegate reported to Meacham that "Chock-toosh," and "Skidat" were at Yainax, "doing all they can in forwarding operations" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Camp Yainax, Ore., July 31, 1871; Official Letters Received, W. C. McKay to I. D. Applegate, Salem, Ore., Aug. 28, 1871; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, Ore., Oct. 31, 1871. In April, 1872, Ivan Applegate notes the presence of "Chief Chock-toot and Kilo-to-ik at Yainax (see fn. 239). In 1873, as already mentioned, three men of Tcháktot's band were killed at Summer Lake, and Tcháktot went with Dyar to Summer Lake to investigate. On July 25 six of his Indians visited Camp Warner (see fn. 235a; WD. DC. 1726-DC-1873. A. Josslyn to A.A. General, DC. Camp Warner, Ore., July 25, 1873).

238. Possibly synonymous with Lindsay Applegate's "En-kal'to-ak" or "En-kal'to-ik"? Ivan Applegate's "Kilo-to-ik" is not noted as being the "Kile-to-ak" who in 1864 signed the Klamath treaty as a Yahooskin Snake; it seems dubious that he was.

239. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to T. B. Odeneal, Yainax, Ore., April 30, 1872.

240. NA. Record Group No. 98, U. S. Army Commands, DC. 25-0-1869. Elmer Otis to A.A.A.G., DC, Camp Warner, Ore., Nov. 23, 1869.

241. RCIA 1872 (CDS #1560) pp. 781-782.

242. NA. Record Group No. 98. U. S. Army Commands. DP. Elmer Otis to A.A.G., Camp Harney, Ore., April 15, 1872.

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K 101 243. Note that even Ivan Applegate here uses "Klamath Indians" instead of "Yahooskin Snakes" for the Klamath group under Barcley LeLu at Yainax.

N 101 621 244. The hundred and fifty Snakes would be Tchâktot's Walpapi Snakes, since it is expressly stated that Ocheo's people did not go. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Ivan D. Applegate to A. B. Meacham, Yainax, March 31, 1872.

245. NA. BIA. OSFP. Letters Received. L. S. Dyar to E. P. Smith, Klamath Agency, July 21, 1873.

N 115 361 246. Namely, David and Roy Chocktoot, and Susie Chocktoot Archie (Kelly, Surprise Valley, p. 69, Northern Paiute Tales, pp. 364-365; Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 856); also Pete Paulina who was born at Silver Lake ca. 1866 or 1867 (Court of Claims E-344, p. 997).

247. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 406, 997.

248. My Friend the Indian, pp. 320, 326.

N 114 166 249. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364. Kelly would have been more accurate had she said that they came from the Silver-Summer lakes region in 1867 and 1868.

250. Kelly, Northern Paiute Tales, p. 364; Surprise Valley Paiute, pp. 205-206.

251. Court of Claims E-344, pp. 997-998.

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Vol. 3 No. 1 ETHNOHISTORY Winter 1956

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 3, Conclusions

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4. Conclusions. In the introductory section of this study the specific results of ethnohistorical research on two so-called aboriginal Northern Paiute "bands" were briefly summarized. We do not propose, in the final section, to enlarge on these specific findings, but instead wish to discuss some of the broader implications that a detailed ethnohistorical study such as this one holds. 121

The majority of ethnological reports on North American Indian cultures that were written by American-trained ethnologists during the period 1910-1940 were couched in the "ethnographic present" (tense), and purported to describe the "aboriginal" cultures of various Indian groups. Yet few if any of the ethnologists who authored these reports had gone into the field to study a tribe, equipped with any except the most rudimentary knowledge of that tribe's early post-White contact background. Lacking command of this ethnohistorical data, it is small wonder that the monographs which these ethnologists produced, although written in the ethnographic present, are curiously divorced from reality. 114 121

By 1945 the possibility of doing "memory ethnographies" of so-called aboriginal North American Indian cultures was generally recognized as a thing of the past. Even ethnographers concerned with western North American Indian tribes perforcedly had to admit this. Interest among North American ethnologists then began to shift to Central and South American "primitive (?) peoples,"

114 121 and to those of even remoter regions of the globe. It is true Worl War II had something to do with this; but looking back, not too much. Had North American Indian ethnology, in the decade 1945-1955, been more firmly established methodologically, it would not have lost so many workers to other parts of the world as it has.

The weakness of a basic assumption made by American ethnologists in the 1910's, '20's, and '30's—namely, that through field work with elderly informants they could secure reasonably complete descriptions of aboriginal North American Indian cultures—has turned out, under testing, to have been a false assumption. The published results of this field work of the period 1910-1940 are inadequate and unsatisfactory for answering basic questions about North American Indian groups and their aboriginal cultures, such as arise in Indian Land Claims cases, for example. The results are unsatisfactory chiefly because of a fairly appalling lack, on the part of field workers, of any knowledge of the ethnohistorical background of the peoples whose cultures were being studied. Ignoring history, the ethnologists set themselves too ambitious a task; and as a result, presented all-too-unrealistic, overly formalized, and often misleading or partly erroneous descriptions of so-called "aboriginal" North American Indian cultures. Taking, whenever it was possible to do so, first immediate White contact as a starting point, the ethnologist relied on what he was told by elderly or knowledgable informants concerning the culture of their group at or around the immediate contact period, and presented this data as a valid picture of an "aboriginal culture." Reliable informants' statements were generally regarded as gospel, and little use was made by the field worker of published documentary material, to say nothing of archival or otherwise unpublished data. In two graduate Anthropology Departments that we know of, investigation of documentary material was explicitly discouraged, in the '30's. White influences emanating from outside an area under field survey, or even what was going on in non-Indian affairs within the area of those peoples whose culture was being studied, was not important for the ethnological field worker. Yet such factors

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had often had important repercussions upon the culture of the peoples under consideration. Before the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon had any real and immediate contacts with the Whites, for example, the need of retired Hudson's Bay employees and other early Willamette Valley settlers for Indian slaves to work their farms, and the need of miners in southern Idaho and northeastern Oregon for supplies, probably had had a good deal of effect upon the choice of habitat, and some of the manners and customs of the Oregon Paiutes. How else is one to explain, for instance, the presence of roving, peaceably inclined Northern Paiutes in the Willamette Valley at the opening of the 19th century, and their absence in this region before the middle of the same century, or how is one to account for an early 19th-century, sparsely distributed, unmounted, hunting-gathering population being organized in relatively large, mounted predatory bands, by the late 1850's and the 1860's?

To continue with the Northern Paiute of Central Oregon as our example. Elderly Northern Paiute informants undoubtedly gave, in all honesty and with as much accuracy as memory allowed, to those ethnographers working with them in the 1930's and '40's, what the informants knew about native life as it was lived when they were boys and girls, or young men and women. Whatever else informants gave, on the authority of deceased relatives, was tradition. And as we know, oral tradition can be a combination of accuracies and inaccuracies, interlarded with a good deal of reasoning after the fact. All this information, or "field data," was then used as the basis for several monographs purporting to describe the aboriginal way of life of various groups of Oregon-Northeastern California Paiutes.

Unfortunately, the monographs referred to do not describe, in our judgment, the aboriginal culture of these groups. By 1860-1870 many of the Oregon Paiute had had horses for five to fifteen years, at least. They had also had heavily loaded, poorly guarded supply trains and emigrant trains, and droves of cattle, horses, and mules

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114 passing over well defined trails and roads in their general area,
177 for about the same length of time or longer. They had had volun-
[648] teer forces and United States Army forces pursuing them, burning their winter stores and killing or taking as many of them captive as possible, during this period. These were only some of the direct influences operating on their mode of living and political organization at this time. There were also indirect, far-reaching influences that had been operative from a much earlier date; the emigration of several thousand settlers to the Willamette Valley, beginning in 1843, was one such.

In the light of the above, we have certain suggestions to make.
114 First, that ethnologists discard the notion that any ethnography of
121 a North American Indian group describes that group's "aboriginal culture." (We have grave doubts that such an ethnography could ever have been written, except, possibly, in 1492—if one had been quick about it.) Secondly, we suggest recognition of the fact that North American Indian ethnographies be taken as relating in general to a period coincident with the early years of the informants who supplied the data upon which such ethnographies are based. Taking Kelly's Surprise Valley Paiute monograph as an example, we note that the field work which this study is based on was done in 1930, and that the several Surprise Valley Paiute informants used were, at that time, about 60-70 years old. This dates Kelly's material as relating to the period 1860-1870. We have indicated in parts 2.2 and 3.2 of this paper (pp. 103, 110, 251, 253, 254, fns. 49,
[621] 110, 213, 234) something of the condition of the Surprise Valley Paiute during this decade. They were organized, possibly, as a predatory band in the early 1860's; by the early 1870's they were on the Klamath Reservation at Yainax, but the locale they preferr was near Camp Warner, an Army post some distance east of the Reservation. What Kelly has to say about the social and political organization of the Surprise Valley Paiute fits the 1860-1870 pictur of this group, but is full of unresolved uncertainties as regards th Northern Paiute of the Surprise Valley region in aboriginal times.

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However, the goodly stock of North American Indian ethnographies that we have, once their contents are properly dated, would no longer be misleading or confusing documents, but on the contrary would represent valuable source material. Used in conjunction with relevant ethnohistorical material, they could provide a basis for studies of culture change, cultural stability, cultural resistances, and other enquiries into cultural dynamics. To neglect them because they do not fulfill everything that was claimed for them when they were written is to fail to recognize the close relationship that exists between the results of ethnohistorical and ethnological research, as this relates to larger problems in cultural anthropology.

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